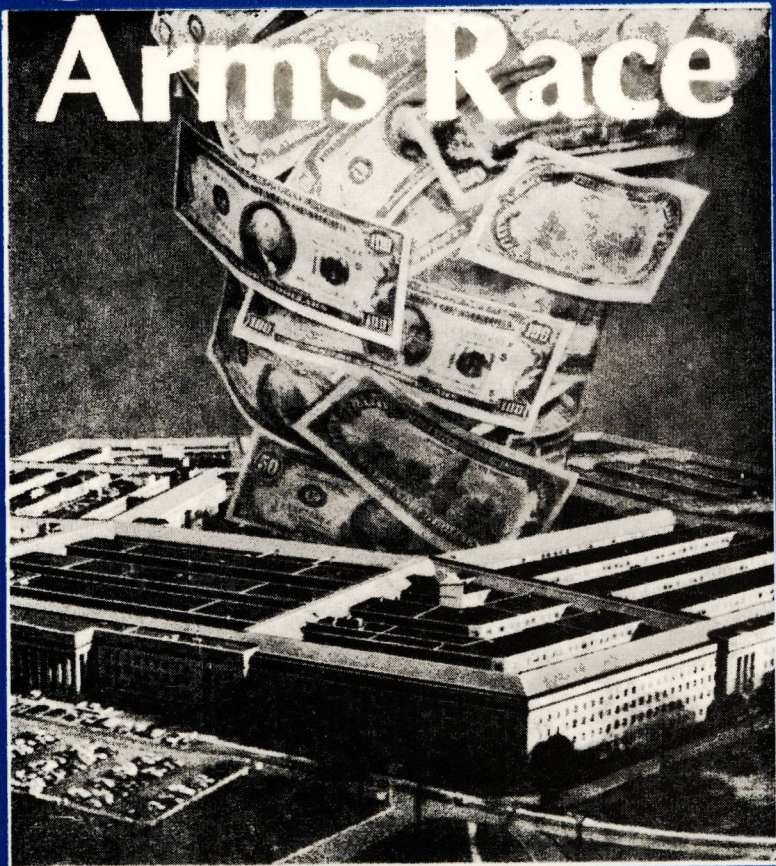


USA Anatomy of the

Arms Race



Progress Publishers

USA: Anatomy of the Arms Race

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Progress Publishers
Moscow

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США: анатомия гонки вооружений

На английском языке

© Политиздат, 1984

English translation © Progress Publishers 1986

Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

С $\frac{1307000000-103}{014(01)-86}$ 72-86

CONTENTS

Foreword	5
Chapter 1. Arms Race—Threat to Peace and the Security of Nations	9
Chapter 2. Who in the West Is Trying to Justify the Arms Race and How They Are Going About It	32
Chapter 3. From the History of the Arms Race	56
Chapter 4. Gambling on the Arms Race Once Again	86
Chapter 5. The USA and the Arms Race in Western Europe	108
Chapter 6. New Forms of the Arms Race	140
Chapter 7. Realities of Our Epoch	173
Conclusion	195

FOREWORD

In the course of its history humankind has witnessed tens of thousands of wars which took a toll of roughly four billion lives. Today the world witnesses undisguised preparations for the most heinous crime of all times, and its victims may be not the people of one or even several countries but the whole human race. The nuclear weapons that have been stockpiled can destroy civilisation within hours. And this tragedy may begin in Europe, which international imperialism is turning into a springboard for nuclear war.

As soon as the nuclear weapon made its appearance the Soviet Union adopted a clear-cut, principled stand towards it, namely, to ensure that by the concerted efforts of all countries the energy of the atom was used exclusively for peaceful, creative purposes for the benefit of people, for the enlargement of the energy base and a more intensive development of industry, transport, and agriculture; and that a general and complete ban was placed on the production and use of nuclear weapons.

The USSR was the country that in 1949 took the initiative to get a Peace Pact signed by the five great powers. A number of treaties limiting the arms race was subsequently signed as a result of the constructive and invariably vigorous diplomacy of the USSR and fraternal socialist nations. These include, among others, the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water (1963), and the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (1972), the Soviet-US Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (1972), the Soviet-US Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War (1973), and the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1975), which may be called the charter of peaceful coexistence.

A series of important resolutions aimed at preventing nuclear war and consolidating peace were adopted by the

UN General Assembly on Soviet initiative. These resolutions enjoy a considerable moral and political prestige. One of them is the Declaration on the Prevention of a Nuclear Catastrophe, passed on November 25, 1981 and proclaiming, in part, that "states and statesmen that resort first to the use of nuclear weapons will be committing the gravest crime against humanity".

What has US imperialism and the aggressive NATO bloc offered as an alternative to this appeal to common sense? Another "arms build-up for disarmament" myth.

The USA's obstructionist policy in disarmament was seen distinctly in its attitude to the ratification of SALT-2 and the talks on medium-range nuclear weapons. The situation today is that SALT-2, signed in 1979, remains unratified by the USA and has not come into force. The talks on nuclear armaments in Europe were cut short. Yet this is a global problem affecting not only Soviet-US relations. All the nations of the world are interested in its successful settlement. In an effort to impose unacceptable conditions upon the Soviet Union the government in Washington had through the lips of its Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger, declared that all negotiations had to begin from the beginning. This was nothing more than the self-same zero option.

The only realistic alternative today is to act without delay with the purpose of curbing the arms race and reshaping the political climate in the direction of reinforcing the trend towards cooperation. At a plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in February 1984 it was noted: "We clearly see the threat that is being created today to humanity by the reckless, adventurist actions of imperialism's aggressive forces and we speak of this with full voice, drawing the attention of the peoples of all lands to this danger."¹

As has been said time and again by the leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet government, the USSR is not building up a nuclear first-strike capability, is not looking for military superiority, and is neither doing nor will do anything that might break the existing military equilibrium. In speaking of the need to end the deadlock over the most burning issue of our time, the problem of halting the arms race, the Soviet Union has spoken at all levels of the senselessness of creating more and more new potentialities for destroying each other.

¹ *Pravda*, February 14, 1984.

Much has been said about the arms race. In the West analysts explain its origin variously, looking for those responsible for it among individual statesmen, military leaders, academics, diplomats, and industrialists. More often than not the blame for the arms race is laid at the door of countries with which there are strained relations, or of government leaders who make the decision on starting this or that military programme.

Lenin distinguished two forms of the manifestation of modern militarism: the first "as a military force used by the capitalist states in their external conflicts", and the second "as a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes for suppressing every kind of movement, economic and political, of the proletariat".¹

Indeed, as history has shown incontrovertibly, the arms race was generated by imperialism. It represents one of the cardinal manifestations of militarism in capitalist society's social, international, economic, political, military, and ideological life. Whereas militarism is a hallmark of bourgeois society, *a system of military, political, economic, and ideological instruments* used by the monopoly bourgeoisie against socialism, for the suppression of the working-class, communist, and national liberation movements, and also for the forcible settlement of the most acute international contradictions, the arms race *is part and parcel of imperialism's policies*. It expresses the ambition of the imperialist states to have unchallenged supremacy in means of violence. This ambition is implicit in antagonistic society generally, and in imperialism in particular, relative to political adversaries.

If a large-scale military conflict were to break out anywhere in Europe, Asia, or Latin America it could erupt into a global disaster that would not go on for years, months, or even days. A few hours, and that would be it.

The world knows of the estimates which say that the destruction potential of the present stockpile of nuclear weapons is three million times greater than the power of the weaponry available towards the close of World War II and exceeds 50 billion tons of TNT ("only" five megatons of explosives were used in the Second World War). Some experts note that this quantity of nuclear weapons has the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Bellicose Militarism and the Anti-Militarist Tactics of Social-Democracy", *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1982, p. 192.

potential of destroying humanity twelve times over, others say that its potential is greater. Yet the escalation of the nuclear arms race continues.

Of course, science does not stand still. There are projects for the production of super-powerful nuclear warheads of the order of 1,000 megatons (or one gigaton). A warhead of this kind, exploded at an altitude of about 160 kilometres, could destroy all life and all structures in an area of over 10,000 square miles. Research into the development of nuclear armaments is currently following other lines, with conventional arms becoming closer to nuclear weapons.

The second form of militarism has acquired predominance in the latter half of the twentieth century. International imperialism has shifted most of its efforts to fight the three components of the world revolutionary process—the socialist community, the international communist and working-class movement, and the national liberation movement. US imperialism is now aiming to fight the forces of peace and social progress globally.

Chapter 1

ARMS RACE—THREAT TO PEACE AND THE SECURITY OF NATIONS

What specific political aims is US imperialism trying to achieve by means of the arms race?

Among other things, to:

a) contain any further change in the political alignment of forces in the world in favour of socialism and progress, and take a social and political revenge for imperialism's defeats across the world in the 1970s;

b) bring pressure to bear on the socialist world system. The US ruling circles calculate that by building up armaments they will compel the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to stop supporting the national liberation and anti-imperialist movements and cause a diminution of socialism's influence in regions proclaimed "zones of US vital interests" by Washington;

c) gain control over the foreign policy of other countries. US imperialism believes it can achieve this aim by maintaining bases, strongpoints, and other military installations on foreign territory. In 1980 alone more than 3,000 million dollars were spent to build such installations, while their maintenance during the past few years have cost about 20,000 million dollars. At present the USA has over 1,500 military bases and strongpoints on the territories of 32 states. Permanently stationed there are more than half a million servicemen;

d) use the sale of weapons and other military "services" to bring the foreign policy of new nation-states under its control. At present the US accounts for over 60 per cent of all armaments sales in the world;

e) use military superiority over its allies to harness them more closely to the USA's aggressive policies;

f) ensure "positions of strength" at negotiations, chiefly military-political negotiations.

US imperialism is thus attempting to maintain and consolidate an international pro-Western socio-political status

quo and create a situation in the world in which the efforts of the peoples to achieve a reshaping of existing socio-political structures and institutions would be wrecked through the use, in one form or another, of the US military machine.

What basic objective does US imperialism hope to attain by means of the arms race in terms of confrontation with socialism?

An objective that is openly proclaimed by the present ruling elite in the USA is to precipitate socio-economic difficulties in socialist countries.

Here imperialist reaction's calculation is quite primitive. Since the arms race places a burden on the economy, under certain conditions a stepped-up arms race could create an unendurable situation for the socialist countries. Imperialist reaction expects that the economic difficulties caused by massive expenditures on military requirements could evolve into a social crisis and that this would make it possible to provoke from without a movement against the existing state power.

Moreover, it is hoped to isolate the socialist countries from the rest of the world. The arms race strengthens those elements of the social structure of capitalist and some developing countries that are interested in having close relations with the USA. And these, egged on by US reaction, can become the vehicles for militarising the social consciousness in their respective countries. It has been found long ago that the arms race is accompanied by war hysteria and an ill-intentioned "Soviet military threat" propaganda campaign.

What is the danger to the developing nations of US imperialism's course towards escalating the arms race?

In relation to the developing nations US imperialism links far-reaching plans to the arms race:

a) in the first place it is assumed that arms sales will help to bring developing nations under US influence. Using the circumstance that for various reasons developing countries find they have to purchase armaments abroad, US imperialism makes arms sales contingent upon the acceptance of political conditions. There have been many cases

of agents of US imperialism provoking friction and conflicts between developing countries and thereby compelling them to buy armaments and escalating the arms race on a regional scale;

b) US imperialism gives high priority to acquiring military clients. It uses the difficulties that developing nations at times encounter when they have to train officers and technical personnel for a new army or to re-equip the old army. This provides the basis for the neocolonialist practice of "neomilitarism", for lauding the "constructive role" of the reactionary military in the social and economic life of the developing nations.

What consequences does the arms race hold out for USA's allies?

US imperialism is using the arms race in an effort to entangle its allies in bonds of dependence and thereby "conserve" the socio-political status quo, notably in the West European countries. The arms race and the "Soviet threat" bogey expedite the growth of chauvinism and anti-Sovietism in West European states, give the reactionary circles growing clout in society, and undermine the positions of the forces of progress. But this is not all that the chieftains of US imperialism want. They calculate that the arms race, the channelling of money by their allies into non-productive military spending will cut down the economic growth rate of dangerous industrial rivals, who are, as a matter of fact, stepping ever closer on the heels of the American corporations. This applies, above all, to the West European nations. The US military and political leadership uses the NATO bloc to involve the West European nations in the arms race, get them to shoulder a large proportion of the military expenditures. It is hoped in Washington that this will reduce their competitiveness, make it more difficult for them to place new production capacities into operation and replace obsolete equipment, and prevent them from taking other steps to enhance efficiency in industry. For the US transnationals the arms race plays the role of a battering ram. As part of their policy of "scientific and technological neocolonisation", these corporations would like to slow down the utilisation by West European firms of scientific and technological breakthroughs.

Lastly, there is the objective of complicating the mone-

tary-financial position of these countries and, at their expense, strengthening the US dollar.

The economists, politologists, and other experts in the employ of US imperialism are going to all lengths to camouflage these plans. To this end they are trying to give people a distorted understanding of the motivations and thrust of the arms race. Among other things, they are seeking to "depolitise" the arms race, to create the impression that it is a sort of "technical" phenomenon.

Can the arms race be regarded solely from the military-technical viewpoint or reduced exclusively to the growth of the military budgets of imperialist states?

As a manifestation of present-day imperialism it affects all aspects of the life of capitalist society, its material and intellectual life. It draws into its orbit:

- the creation of the material means of warfare. This process is developing qualitatively and quantitatively. Lately, special significance has begun to be attached to the qualitative perfection of armaments;
- the build-up of the military-industrial potential. The imperialist circles are trying to get public opinion to accept the view that a country should be constantly in a state of preparedness for war;
- the development of the entire set of measures entailing the use of military force in the foreign policy of imperialist states. This also applies to the relations between allies in military-political blocs;
- the extension of various "military assistance" to allied nations and potential allies. The sale of armaments by Washington spurs not only an arms race hysteria in the USA itself but also the export of this hysteria to developing nations;
- the reinforcement and enlargement of the network of military bases and strongpoints on the territory of military allies and of developing countries. One-fourth of the US armed forces is permanently stationed on foreign territories, thousands of kilometres away from the USA. The numerous Rapid Deployment Force and the Marine Corps are constantly in a state of combat alert: the mission of those troops is to invade and occupy foreign states in the event the political situation changes. They have been used by US imperialism for aggression, for instance, against Grenada.

There are many US military bases in direct proximity of the frontiers of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, first of all in Western Europe. In only the FRG, which the Pentagon regards as a springboard for war against the Warsaw Treaty Organisation states, there are nearly 200 large military installations. Some 60 US military installations, including seven major bases, are located in Turkey, which borders on the Soviet Union. The Pentagon plans to use it as a bridgehead for hostilities against the USSR in the Transcaucasus and against socialist countries in the Balkans, and also as a transfer base for the movement of Rapid Deployment Force to the Middle East.

Of course, all aspects of the arms race involve financing. For that reason, one of the key indicators of this race is the inflation of military spending. At present, following the decision of the 1978 Washington session of the NATO Council to increase annually the military budgets of the bloc's member-states by 3 per cent in real terms (this figure has already been surpassed and now amounts to 5 per cent), the US government has boosted the growth rate of its military allocations. In the period up to 1986 the USA plans to spend over 1,800 billion dollars for military purposes.

Military expenditures were increased at a high rate throughout the 1970s by six other leading imperialist powers. In three of them (Italy, Britain, and Japan) these expenditures rose nearly threefold.

However, the arms race is characterised not only by the absolute growth of military spending. The distribution of funds is highly significant—for what they are used and the objectives served by them. The US government's spending on war preparations is steadfastly dominated by expenditures on the purchase of armaments as well as on research and development for military purposes. Some experts estimate that in 1982 expenditures on military purchases amounted to 25 per cent of the US military budget.

An analogous picture is to be observed in the spending on research and development, which grew from 6.1 per cent in 1955 to 10.1 per cent in 1980. It is expected that these expenditures will continue to amount to at least 10 per cent of the military budget, which means that the annual growth rate of this section of the budget will be at least 4 per cent.

Even the most experienced analysts could not foretell the increase made in the allocations for armaments and for research and development by the Republican administration

in the early 1980s. In the summer of 1981 the US Congress approved the allocations (226,300 million dollars) for the Defence Department for the 1982 fiscal year. Of this sum, 136 billion dollars were earmarked for the purchase of armaments and for military research and development.

Further, the arms race affects society's intellectual life, fostering chauvinism and misanthropy. Imperialism places high hopes on the arms race in ideologico-political terms as well.

There is an inseparable link between the arms race and psychological warfare. Imperialism's propaganda agencies have the task of persuading public opinion that this race was started not by the USA or NATO but by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. Their minimum assignment is to "level out" the situation, make people think that both sides are equally responsible, and thereby conceal the true causes of the arms race, its class and political orientation.

The arms race thus creates the soil for extending and reinforcing the ideological subversion machine. The bigger the scale of the arms race and the greater the tension in international relations, the more brazen and active imperialist reaction becomes.

The objective of the new spiral of the arms race started by Washington in the early 1980s is to reinforce the ideology of US superiority and exclusiveness, which is tantamount to justifying its hegemonistic ambitions and policy of state terrorism.

What is the role of the US Armed Forces in the implementation of this policy?

The US Armed Forces are a copy of the social and political system of which they are a part. They are undisguisedly a machine for aggression with the mission of fighting for a repartitioning of the world and giving US imperialism control over strategically important regions of the globe. They are so structured as to facilitate the attainment of this mission.

Their strategic offensive arm has 2,315 carriers of nuclear weapons, including 1,042 launching pads for intercontinental ballistic missiles, 617 bombers, and 656 launching installations for ballistic missiles on 39 nuclear-powered missile submarines (data for 1984). Land troops, tactical air

formations, and naval units (excluding nuclear-powered missile submarines) comprise the main components of the US Armed Forces on foreign territories. Their mission is to ensure, already in peace-time, the attainment of the USA's global political objectives.

The land troops number 1,378,000 effectives and are armed with nearly 200 tactical missile launchers, 14,000 tanks, 16,500 pieces of field artillery and mortars, including 155-mm and 203.2-mm nuclear howitzers, 17,000 anti-tank guided-missile launchers, over 5,000 anti-aircraft installations, and nearly 9,400 aircraft and helicopters.

The US Air Force has 723,000 effectives, and is armed with, among other weaponry, 9,100 aircraft of various types (excluding strategic bombers), including 4,435 combat aircraft.

The US Navy has 843,000 effectives (including marines), 856 vessels (including reserve vessels), of which 438 are units of the basic classes, including 95 multi-purpose nuclear submarines, 19 aircraft-carriers (four of which are nuclear-powered), and 324 other vessels, and more than 5,000 aircraft and helicopters, of which more than half are combat planes.

These forces are subordinate to the huge Pentagon apparatus, which is the core of the US military-industrial complex. It has become a state within a state, as it were, and sometimes plays the decisive role in determining the USA's foreign policy actions, pushing the State Department into the background or simply dictating its will to it.

How are the arms race and militarisation affecting life in the USA itself?

The US ruling elite is trying to sell the American people the idea that the arms race, to be more exact, the growing military appropriations can help to alleviate US society's socio-economic difficulties. For example, it is asserted that the new investments in the armaments industry are creating more jobs. But the fact is that this demagoguery is not helping to resolve unemployment in the USA.

The USA's rulers are trying to develop other, more subtle arguments. They are presenting, for instance, the "argument" that the armaments industry has always been a motor of progress and that today it has become the principal vehicle for the application of scientific and technolog-

ical achievements. Consequently, if the people want to see the realisation of the potentialities of the scientific and technological revolution for the welfare of society they have to put up with the inevitable, i.e., with the arms race.

This refrain was especially conspicuous on the lips of the US administration's spokesmen in the early 1980s.

In early 1984 US President Ronald Reagan sent the US Congress the draft of the federal budget for the 1985 fiscal year. Of the 925,500 million dollars for expenditures, the huge sum of 305 billion dollars was promised to the Pentagon. Taking into account the militarist programmes of other departments, the total appropriations for military purposes were to reach the sum of 313,400 million dollars.

All this is understandably disturbing large sections of the American people. A Gallup poll taken in October 1982 showed that 62 per cent of the American people are seriously worried by unemployment and only 6 per cent are disturbed by the war threat arising from the administration's policies. A poll taken a year later, on October 6, 1983, showed a dramatic change of mood. Unemployment now worried 42 per cent, while the proportion of the American people anxious about the threat of war rose to 23 per cent.

A month later, in November, following the events on Grenada the problems of US foreign policy became the central object of the American people's anxieties. This opinion was expressed by 37 per cent of those polled. Unemployment, alarm over which was expressed by 31 per cent of the Americans questioned in the poll, receded into second place.

In 1983 Reagan demonstrated that he was prepared to use US armed strength. He "flexed his military muscles" in Central America, on Grenada, in the Gulf of Sidra, and in Lebanon. At first this inclination of the US president worried the USA's European NATO allies; it has now alarmed the Americans themselves. This is, so to speak, the moral-political response to the activities of the Reagan administration.

The further enormous increase of the already huge Armed Forces, equipped with new generations of nuclear weapons and other means of mass annihilation, has been undertaken by the US ruling elite with the purpose of putting into effect an aggressive, in fact terrorist, policy on the international scene. Relying on strength, the USA has proclaimed that practically the whole world is the "zone of its vital inter-

ests". To protect these "interests" the White House is prepared to send its Armed Forces to any part of the world in order to subordinate other nations and to dictate to them the choice of a social system. Also it is their mission to overthrow governments regarded as objectionable by the USA and to destroy progressive regimes.

All this indicates that in its foreign policy the Reagan administration is making a bigger stake on unceremonious interference in the affairs of other countries, on using naked force on the international scene. This is borne out by the allocation of vast sums to give an active role to the interventionist Rapid Deployment Force, increase the strength of the Navy by, among other things, commissioning another 20 warships, and reinforce military blocs, the NATO bloc in the first place.

The American people have to pay for the administration's militarist, adventurist policies. The White House is essentially robbing the working people of the USA so as to have the possibility of subsidising further aggressions against the peoples of sovereign countries. To oblige the Pentagon the administration intends to continue ignoring entirely the interests of the millions of jobless, homeless, and hungry Americans. The "austerity economy" axe has again been raised over the system of social insurance, the food programmes and the medical care programmes for poor people.

Who benefits by the arms race?

The beneficiaries are the US ruling elite, those elements in the structure of US society linked directly to militarism. Above all, these are the Armed Forces (in the broad sense of the word), the higher military bureaucracy, the bureaucracy of ministries and departments, the police, the political intelligence and counter-intelligence agencies, and other organs directly responsible for war preparations—all elements who wish to see military violence used as an instrument of foreign policy.

Another social group directly interested in the arms race consists of arms manufacturers, financiers, industrialists, and businessmen directly or indirectly getting an income from the manufacture and sale of armaments. The number of such elements is quite large in the USA. More than 120,000 corporations and firms are clients of the Pentagon. But the lion's share of the contracts goes to a score of the largest military-industrial companies.

The third group consists of members of the US ruling elite in the state apparatus and in the apparatus of the two parties sharing power, reactionary politicians who benefit directly or indirectly from the escalation of military appropriations.

The fourth group consists of members of the academic elite working on contracts awarded by the Pentagon. In the USA more than 350,000 research centres are working on contracts of a military character. Money does its work and, as a rule, these academics feel it is best to abide by views that do not clash with official policy.

The fifth group may be said to consist of a section of the mass media: the television and radio stations and press organs with close links to military-industrial circles. Actually, most of the US mass media are now "militarised".

The sixth group is made up of various reactionary public organisations, which in the USA wield considerable influence. These include the Association of the United States Army, the Navy League of the United States, the Committee on the Present Danger, and the Coalition for Peace Through Strength, and also reactionary trade unions and Zionist and right-extremist organisations. Prominent among them in terms of political influence are the privileged clubs of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Zionist organisations have joined in whipping up the arms race in the past few decades. They have enlarged the scale of their participation following the signing of the strategic agreement between the USA and Israel.

Diverse quarters of the ruling class are interested in the arms race to varying degrees. Their link to this race and its material consequences is eminently mediated. The point is that proponents and opponents of the arms race cannot be classified exclusively along the principle of "who benefits economically from it". This approach contains the danger of involuntarily deviating and considering only the social groups that have a direct economic stake in the armaments "fever". However, the arms race mirrors not only the narrow economic but also the domestic and foreign political interests of the ruling class, to be more exact, of the ruling elite, for real power rests with the imperialist oligarchy.

Paradoxically, at some stages of society's development US proponents of the arms race sometimes include rather large sections of society despite the fact that the long-term interests of these sections suffer most of all precisely from

the arms race. For decades on end it has been drummed into the American mind that the USA is "God's chosen land" that should be at the height of its predestination and set its sights on attaining world supremacy. An impact is also made by the systematic campaigns in the bourgeois mass media in favour of the arms race. The American man-in-the-street is given terrifying pictures one after another. But all boil down to one thing, namely: if the USA does not surpass the Soviet Union in the arms race it will be threatened with incalculable disaster.

How strong are the positions held by international Zionism in the US military-industrial complex?

It is no secret that US political leaders want the support of the Zionists. A typical example was the US presidential election campaign of 1980, which became a contest between Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, and John B. Anderson under the slogan of "Who will do more for Israel?" This is not hard to understand because the Zionists account for 60 per cent of the Democratic Party's election fund and 40 per cent of the Republican Party's fund: he who pays calls the tune.

Zionism's political influence is being strengthened by its close bond to right-wing public organisations, the CIA, reactionary trade unions, the mafia and, most importantly, powerful organisations of the imperialist bourgeoisie: exclusive clubs and Masonic lodges. Essentially speaking, the Zionists and the Masons make up the political and financial elite of imperialism generally and of US imperialism, in particular.

According to some data, Zionist capital controls a large portion of the US military-industrial complex. One way or another 20 of the USA's leading arms concerns are controlled by banks whose owners are active Zionists.

The Zionist lobby firmly holds key positions in the US Congress. This is illustrated by the debate over the sale of a large quantity of US armaments to Saudi Arabia. In June 1981 the Zionist lobby in the US Congress conducted an impressive "show of strength". A letter over the signatures of 54 of the 100 members of the US Senate (54 per cent) and of 289 of the 435 members of the House of Representatives (66 per cent) was sent to the White House

demanding the annulment of the sale of armaments contract with Saudi Arabia. Or, as another example, take the uninterrupted growth of economic and military assistance to Israel. Whereas in the period from 1949 to 1981 Israel got 21 billion dollars in state aid, in the 1982 fiscal year the allocations for it were 1,400 million dollars for military and 785 million dollars for economic requirements. An even larger sum was received in aid from international Zionism. In the 1948-1977 period the US Jewish community alone gave Israel more than 12 billion dollars (since 1980 the sale and transfer of weapons to Israel have been increasing significantly). It is estimated that of the 31 billion dollars of foreign capital received by Israel since it was founded, roughly 30 per cent came from the Jewish community in the USA.

The developments in the Middle East, particularly in Lebanon, where together with Israeli troops US marines shot down civilians of that long-suffering nation, are an eloquent illustration of the close coordination of the actions of US imperialism and its appendage, international Zionism, against the liberation movement of the Arab peoples.

Israel is not merely the USA's closest ally—it is an instrument, a weapon of the US ruling circles in the Middle East and the world as a whole. The policies pursued by Israel suit the absolute majority of the US ruling class. The reason for this is that Zionist expansion in the Middle East satisfies the imperialist groups in the USA and international Zionism.

The USA is doing everything to speed the fusion of its own military-industrial complex with that of Israel. The nation's ruling circles are allowing Israel to deal with contractors of the US Defence Department. For instance, an Israel-based Israeli-US company signed a 40-million-dollar contract with a Texas corporation for radio equipment for tanks and transport vehicles for the US Army. The influence of the Zionists is especially visible in the space aviation and radioelectronics industries. The giant Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, which manufactures fighter-bombers and other aircraft as well as intercontinental ballistic missiles, electronic and other high-technology military equipment, is controlled by Lazard Brothers and Co., a bank belonging to the rabidly Zionist Lazard family. A member of this clan, Ralph Lazard, is a board member of the Rockefeller financial mammoth Chase Manhattan Bank, which constant-

ly backs the Zionists. This major US bank "put on its feet" the McDonnell Douglas Corporation, which manufactures modern Phantom fighter-bombers.

Or take General Dynamics. Founded at the close of the nineteenth century by Isaac Rice, it may be said to be one of, if not the, largest arms manufacturers in the USA. (Incidentally, former Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, is now president of this corporation.) One of its financiers is the Zionist Lehman Brothers financial colossus; the Lehmans are one of 20 of the USA's wealthiest families. Lazard Brothers and Co. is the principal investment bank of General Dynamics. Moreover, General Dynamics owns a large packet of shares in Litton Industries, Inc., which currently heads the list of the Pentagon's contractors. Within the next few years it is to deliver 1,388 F-16 fighters to the US Armed Forces, while its subsidiary, Electric Boat Division, has been granted a contract to manufacture nuclear submarines and eight giant Tridents.

Many other of the Pentagon's contractors are linked to international Zionism. These include General Motors, General Tire and Rubber Company, Radio Corporation of America, Sperry Rand Corporation, and Magnavox Company.

What is the participation of the USA's West European allies in the arms race?

The fever of war-mongering has struck not only the USA but also other leading capitalist states.

In 1982 the NATO bloc's military spending exceeded 300 billion dollars and had a rapid upward trend of late.

The following facts indicate how far militarisation has gone as a result of this policy on the part of the NATO states:

- their per capita military expenditures are drawing close to 450 dollars annually;

- military expenditures swallow roughly 21 per cent of their budgets;

- direct military spending by the USA's West European allies have increased almost fourfold, going up from 20,400 million dollars in 1970 to 78,600 million dollars in 1982;

- in 1982 the USA's main allies (the FRG, Britain, France, and Italy) accounted for an aggregate of 26.3 per cent of the bloc's military budgets (up from 19.6 per cent in 1970);

—even official statistics tell us that in the 1972-1982 period the leading West European nations spent over 600 billion dollars for military purposes.

The following fact mirrors the actual magnitude of these military preparations: in 1983 the West European countries added to their arsenals 1,000 new tanks and armoured carriers, over 300 combat aircraft, 30 surface naval ships, and two submarines.

Of the NATO West European states the Federal Republic of Germany is one of the leaders in the arms race. Its annual military expenditures (in current prices), as we learn from official statistics, grew from 20 billion marks in 1970 to 43,400 million marks in 1982, and continued to increase.

The Bundeswehr (its numerical strength now stands at half a million) is one of the largest and best equipped armies in Western Europe and gets armaments and equipment from 1,085 firms and industrial enterprises.

In parallel with the deployment of US Pershing-2s and cruise missiles in West Germany, the FRG Defence Ministry is now increasing the output of "conventional" armaments. Bonn is striving to be the first to give effect to the Rogers Plan, which requires the USA's NATO allies to equip their armies with a new generation of conventional weapons. The objective of this plan is that the NATO countries should build up their arsenals of conventional armaments in order to be in a position allegedly to "raise the threshold" of the use of nuclear weapons.

In the next few years, according to the weekly *Der Spiegel*, the FRG Ministry of Defence is to pay the armaments monopolies 33 billion marks for weaponry already ordered. An outlay is still to be made for the development of a new fighter-plane jointly with Britain, France, Italy, and Spain for the 1990s. Tens of billions of marks are to be spent on the manufacture, together with France, of an anti-tank helicopter and the improvement and development of missiles.

Margaret Thatcher's Tory Cabinet has linked itself more closely than ever before to the aggressive forces in Washington. In order to harness Britain tightly to the war chariot of the USA and NATO, British reactionary quarters are campaigning to justify the growth of military expenditures. In the 1970-1982 period the British military budget increased (in current prices) from 2,400 million to 14,200 million pounds sterling or, in other words, nearly

sixfold. Despite the nation's serious economic and social problems the British ministry of defence had demanded a 12 per cent increase (in absolute terms) in the military budget for the 1983/1984 fiscal year.

France is likewise accelerating the further build-up of its military potential. Its expenditures for this purpose have been growing steadily in the past few years. Although it is not officially a member of the NATO integrated military organisation, that bloc's leadership, as has been stated publicly time and again, is quite satisfied with the scale on which France's military preparations are being funded. In the period from 1971 to 1982 France's military spending rose from 32,700 million to 145,200 million francs. Its military programme for 1985-1989 calls for a further increase of its military strength and for an expansion of its activities in the NATO bloc.

Both Britain and France are allocating huge sums of money to increase their nuclear capability. It is estimated that during the 1970s and the early years of the 1980s France and Britain spent nearly 650 billion dollars to modernise their nuclear-missile forces. Both are continuing to increase the numerical strength of these forces and improve the quality and accuracy of their missiles.

What motivations are advanced to justify the conduct of a joint policy in the arms race by the leading imperialist states?

The argument is that imperialism has to combine its forces militarily and politically on a global scale under the aegis of the USA in order to confront the forces of the socialist world and suppress the national liberation movements. The emphasis is put on increasing NATO's military strength and streamlining the bloc's mechanism with the purpose of increasing its "aggregate might" for fighting a protracted war.

What is implied, however, is the strength not only of NATO members but also of other Western nations and Japan. Imperialist politicians sometimes extend this implication to include Israel, South Africa, Pakistan, Australia, New Zealand, and others. Washington dreams of bringing into this military-political grouping all countries whose ruling circles are eager to preserve their pro-US orientation.

To make these plans more attractive, the USA is por-

trayed not as the predominant power but as leader of the group. They speak demagogically not of US dictation (such dictation is very much in evidence) but of a "coordination of foreign policies", of charting a "common policy" towards the socialist countries.

Washington is quite willing to "cede" some of its "commitments" to its allies, to replace, where possible, the US soldier with a West German, Japanese, Pakistani, South African or some other soldier. But this does not signify that the USA is renouncing its role as the predominant world policeman. It is simply bait designed to lure US imperialism's allies into the implementation of its policies. The USA hopes that in this way it will create the conditions for the concentrated and programmed use, in its own interests, of the potentialities of the entire imperialist system, make this system more manoeuvrable, and extend the utilisation of the USA's political, economic and, above all, military capability to further its global strategy. The USA has been able to achieve this to a certain extent. However, one should not close one's eyes to the conflicts over military and political issues between the USA and its NATO allies.

What is the substance of the controversies between the USA and its NATO allies over military matters?

Throughout the period since the end of World War II the problem of using US nuclear weapons in Western Europe has been a sort of catalyst of military and political controversy in the NATO bloc. It may be said without exaggeration that this has been the key factor straining relations in the NATO alliance. For over two decades NATO's theater nuclear strategy has been the source of controversy and strain within the alliance.

As a result of Washington regarding the nuclear weapon as the basic means of settling the most acute international problems in favour of US imperialism, Western Europe became the first region of the deployment of US nuclear armaments. Nuclear strikes at Soviet political, economic, and military centres from the territory of West European nations were seen by the US military and political leadership as the guarantee of the victorious outcome of a future war. In the Pentagon they had hoped that the Soviet

Union could be reduced to smoking, radioactive ruins within two hours.

The situation began to change in the latter half of the 1950s, by which time the Soviet Union had built up its own strategic air force capable of striking a retaliatory nuclear blow at the USA, and then developed intercontinental ballistic missiles. The more the USA became vulnerable to a Soviet retaliatory strike, the more its ruling circles wanted any future theatre of hostilities to be limited to Europe. Correspondingly, Washington launched steps to acquire a nuclear potential for a "limited", "European" nuclear war. The build-up of the US nuclear arsenal in Western Europe was as follows:

- May 1953—the first US "tactical" nuclear warhead was tested;

- autumn 1953—it was officially announced that the first six 280-mm cannon using nuclear-tipped shells had been shipped to Europe;

- January 15, 1954—the US Secretary of the Air Force Harold E. Talbot declared that two batteries of Matador guided missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads over a distance of 1,000 kilometres were being sent to Europe;

- the Matador guided missiles were followed to Europe by Honest John missiles that had a range of between 25 and 30 kilometres;

- a battalion of Corporal guided missiles that had a range of over 500 miles was sent to Western Europe at the close of 1954;

- the transfer of seven battalions of Corporal guided missiles, several batteries of Honest John missiles, and six nuclear cannon battalions to Western Europe was completed in March 1956;

- in the spring of 1959 the deployment was started of 60 US Thor missiles in Britain and 45 Jupiter missiles in Italy and Turkey—these were capable of reaching targets in the Western regions of the USSR;

- US Matador missiles were stationed in the FRG at the close of the 1950s.

Naturally, West Europeans were apprehensive as they watched this extension of the US nuclear presence in Western Europe.

As Western Europe grew stronger economically, the ruling circles of the West European nations displayed a growing tendency to assert their political independence. In 1956

Iceland's Althing passed a resolution demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Iceland. In 1959 France demanded the relocation of US bombers. Massive anti-nuclear movements sprang up in most of the West European countries.

Following the failure of the plans to form multilateral nuclear forces, the USA and its NATO allies adopted a series of decisions, which they hoped would remove or at least relax the strains over nuclear policy. A NATO nuclear planning group was set up to give the USA's allies a say in deciding some issues relating to the bloc's nuclear policy. Four US submarines with 64 Polaris missiles were assigned to NATO. At the same time, American F-3 medium-range aircraft were stationed in Britain and, lastly (in 1967), a doctrine of "flexible response" was adopted for NATO. Under that doctrine, known officially as MC-1413, NATO formally renounced any immediate massive nuclear strike at the USSR and its allies in the event a crisis situation emerged and proclaimed its commitment to raising the threshold of nuclear confrontation gradually.

The adoption of the "flexible response" doctrine did not at all signify the settlement between the USA and its West European allies of their dispute over the use of nuclear weapons. On the contrary, the West Europeans were by no means happy about the possibility of a European conflict erupting into a nuclear war in Europe—this being the ultimate objective of Washington.

Is there any credibility in the hope of the US warmongers of winning a nuclear war?

The Soviet Union is making no secret of the fact that another world war, if in spite of everything it is triggered by imperialism's aggressive forces, would be the decisive clash between the two opposing social systems. It would affect all continents and would be fought by coalition groups of armed forces with the utmost determination, with the use of the entire arsenal of armaments. The character of modern weapons is such that if they are used the future of the entire human race will be at stake.

No "pre-emptive" nuclear attack by the USA will avert an all-destroying retaliatory strike. Nothing will save the aggressor from punishment. Regardless of what is said in the widely publicised declarations of the White House, the

doctrines scripted in the Pentagon will not bring victory in a nuclear war.

On what is Washington counting?

There can only be one answer. Its policy is designed to take the risk of a nuclear war to extremes, to try to persuade the other side that the US ruling circles were prepared to start a "limited" nuclear war, that is make nuclear blackmail credible.

These mad plans can only be the work of adventurists and people bent on suicide. There is no consensus even among the American military. Many were strongly impressed by the Pentagon's report, which noted that if a nuclear war broke out between 155 and 165 million people would perish in the USA.

Yet the policy pursued by the USA is steeply upgrading the threat of a nuclear war. *Living With Nuclear Weapons*, a book recently brought out by the prestigious Harvard University Nuclear Study Group, says that the following would increase the likelihood of such a war:

"First, the leaders [of one state] would have to believe that the other side intended to strike first, and soon. . .

"Second, the leaders would have to believe that the other side could carry out a relatively successful disarming first strike. . .

"Lastly, the leaders must be convinced that by launching a pre-emptive attack . . . they could substantially reduce the casualties and damage."

This poses the question: "Is not the present administration in Washington acting precisely in accordance with these principles?" We believe there is only one answer.

For the outcome of a war the factor of surprise attack is now of more significance than ever before. This is taken into account in Washington with such frankness that nuclear weapons are being deployed closer to the territory of the USSR, to its vital centres. The objective remains unchanged: to place the Soviet Union at a strategic disadvantage and thereby give more leverage to the Washington policy of nuclear blackmail.

However, history has witnessed the failure of many scenarios of this nature. There has never been any credibility in the belief that the USSR can be pressured into making some unilateral concessions prejudicing its security in-

terests. They are futile today as well. The USSR is not looking for nuclear superiority, but it shall not permit the US administration to use nuclear blackmail for carrying out its policy of strength against the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is dependably repulsing all attempts to break the existing military-strategic equilibrium.

Moreover, the USA and its NATO allies are hoping in vain to move into the lead in the qualitative arms race. The Soviet Union, as developments of the past few decades have demonstrated, has everything it needs to prevent the breaking of this equilibrium: a high level of scientific and technological development, highly trained engineers and technicians and, lastly, the material resources.

The Soviet Union will never permit a situation in which it and its allies would be placed at the mercy of the imperialists. Nothing will compel the USSR to make concessions detrimental to the security of the socialist community. Together with the fraternal socialist countries it will continue keeping its defence capability at the needed level and maintaining the military-strategic parity.

In the USA and other NATO countries they knew that the deployment of US missiles would in fact signify the disruption of the Geneva talks. More, they were aware that the USSR and its allies would take steps to neutralise the new threat. That such steps would be taken was stated clearly on several occasions by the USSR at various levels, including the summit. The USA thus bears the entire responsibility for the suspension of the negotiations in Geneva in 1983, for all the consequences of its short-sighted policy, as the Soviet Union had warned in advance.

Carefully weighing the implications of the NATO missile-deployment decision, the Soviet Union took counter-measures to prevent any change of the military-strategic balance in favour of the West. These are scrupulously gauged steps to reinforce the defence capability of the USSR and its allies within the limits made imperative by the need to neutralise the actions by NATO.

How is the USSR countering the US arms race?

The Soviet policy of strengthening peace has the support of huge sections of world opinion. The world is getting virtually daily confirmation that the preservation of peace on earth is and will remain in the foreseeable future the

principal foreign policy objective of the USSR. This is borne out by the Soviet Union's foreign policy actions, for instance, its unilateral commitments on a no-first-use of nuclear weapons and on a no-first-launching of anti-satellite systems in outer space.

In the summer of 1983 the Soviet Union embarked upon a new peace initiative, which is of the utmost significance for curbing the nuclear missile race. Acting on a resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Soviet government proposed to the governments of the USA, Britain, France, and China that all the nuclear powers, the USA and the Soviet Union in the first place, should, as from January 1, 1984 freeze their nuclear armaments in terms of quantity and quality. The question of freezing nuclear arms was submitted to the 38th UN General Assembly by the Soviet Union as urgent and important. The Soviet initiative won wide support, and everything now depends on the other nuclear powers. Acceptance of the Soviet proposal would create the best possible conditions for conducting constructive talks on limiting and reducing armaments.

Countless facts expose the feverish efforts of the US administration to increase the USA's military strength and its drive to renew the US military capability, notably its nuclear capability, in order to create the material foundation for US monopoly capital's bid for world hegemony. The actions of the USA's leaders are increasing the danger of a nuclear war and getting another spiral of the arms race under way, which is holding out the threat of catastrophic consequences to the whole of humanity. There is therefore no more vital task than to bridle the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race. This is being emphasised by the Soviet Union time and again. And it was stated to the whole world by the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation nations at the 1983 conference of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague. The Political Declaration adopted by the conference states: "The task of curbing the arms race and moving to disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, is central to the struggle to avert war."

The urgency and efficacy of this programme was confirmed in that same year at a meeting of party and government leaders of socialist countries in Moscow. It was stated that these countries "regard as a key element of our time the earliest cessation of the arms race and transition to disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, and consider that

it is vital to do everything to attain these vital objectives, to preserve peace, civilisation, and life on earth".

What specifically does the present stage of the arms race represent and in what is it expressed and what are the military-strategic objectives of the militarists in the USA?

Briefly, it represents a war-mongering course that is seriously threatening peace. Its essence is to try, in disregard of the interests of other nations, to place the United States of America in a position to dominate the world.

The danger is not made a whit less by the "reassuring" statements of the inspirers of the USA's militarist policy. They claim that they are thinking not so much of using nuclear weapons as of creating for international relations a politico-psychological background making the USA's adversaries believe that the probability of a US nuclear strike is very real indeed. This "political" use of nuclear weapons is dangerous chiefly because it is pushing humanity towards nuclear disaster and making the international situation increasingly more disturbing. To look for more and more ways of how best to start and win a nuclear war is not merely irresponsible but, let us not mince words, insane. One must really be blind to fail to see that however and wherever it erupts a nuclear hurricane will inevitably go out of control and bring about a universal catastrophe.

In evaluating the actions of the US government and its NATO allies, the Soviet Union and the other socialist states cannot close their eyes to the fact that these actions are in line with the policy formulated by Reagan as a "crusade" against socialism.

In contrast to the policies of the aggressive imperialist circles of the USA and NATO, the Soviet Union is pursuing the only reasonable policy in the present epoch, namely, that of bridling the arms race and fundamentally changing the climate of international relations in the direction of détente. It is the Soviet view that all efforts should be directed towards one goal, that of preventing a nuclear holocaust.

This view is winning growing support from all the peace forces in the world. However complicated and explosive the present international situation is, there are possibilities for preserving and consolidating peace, for assuring the future

of humankind. These possibilities stem, in the first place, from the foreign policy of peace pursued by the USSR and the other socialist countries, and from the mounting actions of the peace forces. "The forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war. Everything depends on their cohesion and on the purposefulness of their actions," states the Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member states. These are topical words and they are a call to action.

Chapter 2

WHO IN THE WEST IS TRYING TO JUSTIFY THE ARMS RACE AND HOW THEY ARE GOING ABOUT IT

How do Marxist scholars evaluate a nation's military strength?

The concept of "military strength" of nations is dealt with in detail by Marxist science. Frederick Engels pointed out that a military potential does not exist of itself, that it comes from a nation's level of economic development. The production of armaments, he wrote, is based on "production in general—therefore, on 'economic power', on the 'economic situation', on the *material* means which force has at its disposal. ...Nothing is more dependent on economic prerequisites than precisely army and navy. Armament, composition, organization, tactics and strategy depend above all on the stage reached at the time in production and on communications".

Engels singled out a factor such as "the quality and quantity of the population". These are among the major "material, that is, economic conditions" of modern warfare.¹

Lenin researched the concept "military strength" of a nation. He proceeded from the dialectical unity of economic, scientific, technical, moral, political, and military potentials as the basic components of a country's defence capability.

Today Marxists regard a "nation's strength" as "strength" in the shape of a system of potentials, the principal of which is the economic or cultural (in the broad sense of the word) potential. Marxism distinguishes between the concepts of a "country's strength" and "military strength", relegating the military capability proper to a subordinate role, which depends on the economic development level and other factors of a country's strength.

¹ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, pp. 200, 205.

Western politologists, on the contrary, identify "state" with "military" strength, thereby absolutising purely military and economic factors.

Marxist and bourgeois science thus differ fundamentally over the role of the military potential and the arms race.

While Marxist science sees the growth of the military potential as the outcome of the general development of a nation's productive forces and its organisation, in Western politology the military potential is regarded as a factor that ultimately plays the decisive role in determining a country's might.

It is not hard to understand that the might, the military strength of this or that nation is a relative rather than an absolute concept, in other words, it depends on the international situation and the capability and development level of the probable adversary and his armed forces, and on some other factors. Hence, the categories a "nation's strength", and "military capability" must be regarded not in the abstract, mechanically, but in the context of a specific historical situation.

The historical situation creates the unique concrete-historical process in which a change of the balance of strength takes place.

Western analysts absolutise the significance of the military capability and the arms race, and seek to provide a basis for their concept of "absolute" military strength. This is seen clearly in imperialism's political practices, in its plans to attain military superiority by developing various "ultimate" weaponry or achieving "total" superiority in armaments.

Incomprehension of the relative character of a nation's military strength in respect of the military strength of other nations inevitably leads imperialism's policies towards ever new spirals of the arms race, which are in fact attempts to break the objective laws governing the development of nations in the modern epoch, attempts that are inescapably futile.

Why can Western analysts of the arms race (with rare exceptions) at best lay bare the danger that this race poses to humanity but cannot reveal those actually responsible for it, the methods employed by them, their aims and, most importantly, the ways of ending the arms race?

In order to provide the arms race with propaganda support imperialism's politologists have worked out a system of ideological concepts. They claim this is a scientific system; more, some go so far as to call it the "science of the arms race".

Many research centres and individual academics are working in this sphere. But, paradoxically, their researches ultimately serve the arms race itself. Even liberal academics, who are quite sincere in regarding themselves as adversaries of the arms race, often come up with theories that play into the hands of the proponents of the arms build-up.

The reason for this is that the arms race is a class, social process, that it is a natural product of militarism and imperialism. From the very outset, willy-nilly, bourgeois academics and propagandists deviate from this basic proposition and regard the arms race, at best, from the angle of international politics or, at worst, from an organisational-bureaucratic and technological viewpoint, lead themselves and their reader astray, confuse and, in the final analysis, deceive him. This sort of studies of the arms race suit the powers that be in the USA quite well, for they give "theoretical" backing to the inventions of bourgeois propaganda in its psychological warfare against the Soviet Union and for deluding public opinion.

In analysing the arms race bourgeois pundits use the traditional tenets of bourgeois politology and try to introduce some new concepts to give their analyses the semblance of being scientific and unbiased.

What basic tenets of bourgeois politology abet the arms race?

Absolutisation of the role played by the military potential in international relations, namely: "He is strongest who has the most cannon".

Most American and West European political and military leaders and also members of the bourgeois academic community see the arsenal of national strategy as national strength and regard the physical element of national power, military strength, as the instrument of military strategy. Other elements of "national power", as they see it, include: geographical location and size of territory, natural resources (chiefly, energy, food, and minerals), the industrial potential, the size of the gross national product, and the numeri-

cal strength of the population. Actually, their way of thinking is as follows: the basic components of the concept "strength"—size of territory, geographical location, and energy and mineral resources—are constant for a given span of time. There are other indicators—population, and political and social institutions—that change slowly. Lastly, there is yet another kind of indicators, which are more dynamic: level of industrial output, gross national product, productivity of labour, and so forth. However, at present these indicators are levelling out in the industrialised nations and hence cannot, in the full sense of the word, be of decisive significance in changing the balance of strength over a short period.

Thus, the conclusion that suggests itself is that it is extremely hard to change the balance of strength in the world in one's favour by means of economic competition. This must be achieved by looking for other, more dynamic components of strength.

From this the conclusion is drawn that as the most dynamic factor the arms race at present exercises the determining influence on the strength of a nation and is the central component of that strength.

Bourgeois pundits have undertaken attempts to express, in mathematical terms, the dependence of a nation's strength on its military potential. They have suggested, for example, the following formula:

$$P = ax + H$$

where P is the power of a state;

x is its military potential, in other words, might that is determined by its level of armaments;

H represents the constant or relatively constant components of a nation's strength;

and a is a constant magnitude expressing the effectiveness of armaments.

The strength of a state thus boils down to two indicators, one of which is the effectiveness of weaponry (in other words, their technological sophistication) and the other is the actual quantity of these weapons (in combination with the numerical strength and quality of the armed forces, the efficiency level of their command, and so on—with everything that comes under the concept of a nation's military potential).

In its way, this formula explains the role that the arms

race plays in the foreign policy of an imperialist state. If the aim of this policy is seen as winning more influence over other subjects of international relations, then, in accordance with the formula's inner logic, this can be achieved mainly by means of an arms race.

While they advance different combinations of components of a state's "strength", bourgeois politologists and academics nevertheless focus attention chiefly on those components that affect a state's military capability. Military strength is regarded as the basic indicator of a state's strength and, as is underscored in US official documents, is the principal instrument of external policy and diplomacy.

The Soviet scholar V. F. Petrovsky believes that "all the factors of a state's strength listed by them (US politologists.—*Authors.*), even those that are not significant in military-strategic terms, are considered exclusively from the standpoint of a state's ability to use military force to achieve its foreign policy aims".¹

The fact that a country's strength cannot be "computed" on the basis of the suggested models has compelled bourgeois academics to admit that their count is dubious. They declare that a military collision is the only way to measure a state's military strength. Actually, they come to the conclusion that war is the denominator making apparent the changes in the balance of world forces.

Thus, seemingly purely theoretical debates on some issues of international relations may have some bearing on the arms race for they add a tendentious dimension to foreign policy thinking in imperialist countries.

What role has military strength to play in the foreign policy of imperialist states?

The answer to this question is deduced from an analysis of another postulate of bourgeois science that may be formulated as follows: "Military strength is what settles any political problem."

In speaking of military strength, of the ways of implementing it and of its foreign policy functions, we have to consider the attempts of bourgeois academics to substantiate "theoretically" the priority of military power over other

¹ V. F. Petrovsky, *The "National Security" Doctrine in the USA's Global Strategy*, Moscow, 1980, pp. 122-23 (in Russian).

forms of coercion: political, ideological, economic, financial, and so on.

Most bourgeois academics agree that military power is the principal means for really influencing the international atmosphere. Even those political analysts who speak of a relative decline of the importance of military power as an instrument of foreign policy pressure, agree that to one extent or another it is of prior significance.

The orientation of US military doctrines—from reliance on nuclear strength to the use of all components of military strength with a shift of accent to non-nuclear means of warfare—in fact represents a reflection of the theoretical approaches developed by bourgeois science. It has resulted in serious miscalculations—exaggeration of the role of military strength in foreign policy.

History bears out that the USA failed to resolve many international problems by means of military strength. The wars fought by the USA in Korea, Southeast Asia, and Latin America, and the armed intervention in the affairs of Iran and the peoples of the Middle East eloquently demonstrate the ultimate ineffectiveness of this policy.

The conservatism of bourgeois politology in questions related to the role played by military strength in foreign policy does not extend, however, to the question of utilising (i.e., ways of using) the military strength of imperialist states. These ways change quite flexibly, depending on shifts in the balance of strength on the world scene.

Bourgeois academics justifiably consider that tension or even a rift does not necessarily end in the use of armed force.

That there are distinctions in the forms of using military strength indicates imperialism's striving to adjust to the changing international situation and employ, under concrete conditions, military strength with the maximum effectiveness in terms of foreign policy results.

What does indirect use of military strength in international relations mean? What is its role in the arms race?

Imperialism is now apprehensive about having open recourse to use military coercion against socialist states for the settlement of foreign policy issues. That is why during the past two decades it has been seeking to introduce other

means, including the indirect use of military strength, in its foreign policy practice.

Some Western political analysts hold that the indirect use of military strength is even more effective than the physical use of the armed forces. According to a Brookings Institution report, the USA had often resorted to the indirect use of military strength. The report says that fire power as such was used in 18 out of 215 incidents. In the overwhelming number of cases the accent was on having a US military presence, on raising the combat readiness level of the armed forces, on visits by warships, patrol operations, exercises undertaken with the purpose of demonstrating strength, and so forth.

During the past 30 years the USA has had recourse to the nuclear threat on 19 occasions, and on four occasions it directly threatened the Soviet Union. In 10 cases it sent strategic bombers to the frontiers of the USSR or China, and on two occasions the US 6th Fleet was placed on combat alert.

Most of these 19 incidents occurred at a time when the USA possessed nuclear superiority. Only two incidents took place after 1963 and there was only one after 1968.

These statistics indicate that US imperialism is quite willing to use blackmail and threats when the USA has a clear advantage in strategic armaments. Imperialist political leaders are well aware that superiority is imperative for the success of any form of blackmail. This is perhaps the predominant postulate when US foreign policy is charted and the objective of the arms race is defined.

At present the aim of ensuring the conditions for nuclear blackmail in the future underlies the planning of the arms race. An ideal situation, as envisioned by the government in Washington, would be one in which the US would have retrieved its "positions of strength" relative to the USSR and provided its foreign policy with a "power background" that would make it possible to settle the foreign policy issues interesting US imperialism.

But the Soviet Union had not earlier permitted, when the USA had had some advantages, and will not now permit itself or any of its friend to be blackmailed.

In any case, the brandishing of nuclear weapons may look convincing when the threatening side has chances of surviving and winning a nuclear war. The USA neither has nor will have such chances. The USSR will not permit the

achieved military-strategic equilibrium to be broken. Then, one may ask, what is the purpose of building up a nuclear arsenal? The answer to this question may be the assumption that either in Washington they do not see how futile the attempts are to achieve overwhelming superiority in nuclear missiles or that US imperialism does not believe that its system can function without injections of nuclear stimulants.

What is the Marxist view of the role of military strength?

There is much speculation on this score in the West. The allegation that the "Communists are out to conquer the world" is not only very old but is, perhaps, the most battered.

Marxism does not deny violence. Lenin said that "not a single problem of the class struggle has ever been solved in history except by violence".¹

However, while acknowledging that violence is inevitable under certain specific historical conditions of the class struggle, Marxism *does not confuse violence with the use of force in state-to-state relations.*

Violence remains a potential instrument of the class struggle as long as there are antagonistic classes. To reject violence means to renounce repulsing the class enemy and to abandon the national liberation struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

The question of using military strength in state-to-state relations, including the relations between socialist and capitalist states, is in an entirely different dimension. Operating here are different principles and provided an intelligent approach is adopted towards the establishment and promotion of relations the use of armed force can be avoided. The Soviet Union has time and again urged the signing of a treaty on the non-use of force in the relations between countries. The imperialist states persist in rejecting such an agreement, which would remove the use of military strength in international relations.

The factor of strength has so far not lost nor can lose its

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 459.

significance in the foreign policy of socialist countries. It would be wrong to assert that socialism does not need military strength. On the contrary, as long as imperialism exists, *socialism's military strength remains the tangible barrier to the aggressive ambitions of the imperialists, the factor that objectively plays a stabilising role in international relations.* Under socialism military strength performs an exclusively defensive function, the function of defending socialism's achievements.

What may be said of the attempts to draw up rules for the arms race, to "direct" it into a definite channel?

The contention that the arms race is implicit in the world community nullifies in advance any attempts to put an end to it. The only way out of this situation, say the proponents of this viewpoint, is to regulate the arms race. Hence the theory that it would be desirable to "stabilise" the arms race as this would preserve the balance of power achieved earlier. In practice this would signify a renewed variant of the "balance of power" theory that has long been the alpha and omega of bourgeois diplomacy. True, this renewed variant is based on a postulate that is immutable for US politicians, namely, that a "balance" is achieved when the US military machine enjoys undisputed superiority. This dual logic is often to be noted in the arguments of Western political analysts about the arms race started by the USA.

The preservation of the military capability of the USA and its NATO allies at a high level is seen by imperialist leaders as indispensable to the pursuance of foreign policy.

In our time it is hard to persuade people that the arms race is expedient by openly using arguments alleging that military superiority is necessary. For that reason the choice falls on "pacifist" arguments, whose gist is: "We are not planning to attack anybody, but in this unstable world weakness may be an invitation to attack us."

The refrain "peace from positions of strength" is constantly present in the pronouncements of spokesmen of the US ruling circles.

What is a "worst-case scenario analysis"?

This term has been used frequently in Western literature and in the public statements of US and NATO leaders. In the West it is a sort of catalyst of the arms race. Its pur-

pose is to ensure "security" in moments characterised by "uncertainty about the adversary's intentions to increase his military capability". Actually, only the semblance of argumentation is presented, because decisions are made on the basis of purely subjective assessments. Western researchers acknowledge that a "worst-case scenario analysis" is based, on the one hand, on overstated assumptions about the capabilities and intentions of a probable adversary and, on the other, on understanding one's own capabilities. These "assumptions" serve as the pretext for a propaganda campaign designed to justify an escalation of the arms race.

This pattern of action is typical of the USA. Recall the "threat of lagging behind in strategic aircraft", the "missile lag", the "lag in tanks", "in throw-weight", "in naval power", and so forth. And what is significant is that each time new military programmes are discussed and a new military budget is drawn up, overstated assessments of the adversary's capabilities are at once advanced. In such cases references are usually made to analysis conducted by "state agencies" or "individual researchers". Less frequently, when they wish to give special weight to such analyses, specific researchers are named.

How does bourgeois propaganda seek to justify the aspiration of the imperialist powers to achieve military superiority?

Imperialism recognises no other relations between nations save those of domination and subordination, of oppression of the weak by the strong. It bases international relations on dictation, threats, violence, and arbitrary action. It regards wars of aggression as the natural way to settle international issues. Thus, the striving to have superiority in military strength has always been implicit in imperialism. What are the basic ways by which it aims to gain such strength?

First—an unbridled arms race. This approach has the support of a section of political leaders in the USA and other imperialist states.

Second—the arms race is combined with some measures of armaments control.

Third—efforts are made to gain advantages when some disarmament measures are agreed and implemented.

Actually, the second and third ways are two sides (dip-

lomatic and propagandist) of one and the same mode of attaining military superiority. While the second way is, under cover of negotiations, an attempt to place restrictions on the adversary and prepare for a new spiral of the arms race in more promising areas (strived for by the USA at the nuclear and space arms limitation talks), the third way signifies the utilisation of the propaganda machine to compel the other side to accept unacceptable agreements.

The distinction between the second and the third ways is seen in the context of the overall international situation at the beginning of the 1970s and the 1980s. The choice between them depends largely on how much the US ruling circles believe their chances are of forging ahead in the qualitative arms race.

What is an "unchecked" arms race?

"Unchecked" must be taken to mean an arms race that is predicated on the decision of the ruling circles of an imperialist state to use the largest possible portion of that state's resources for it. In this case the stake is put on there being a considerable difference in the economic potentialities of the competing sides. An arms race of this kind is not only exceedingly hurtful for the economy of the state that starts it but does not guarantee the hopes for political effect. The striving to direct into the race the maximum resources leads, as the example of the USA shows, to the creation of ineffective systems of weapons in political and military terms. Besides, the resources of any country are not inexhaustible and therefore a time comes when it has to abandon or slow down some programmes.

An uncurbed arms race was popular among imperialist leaders at a time when it was felt that the USA was far ahead of the Soviet Union militarily and economically. Reliance on military strength and, as a consequence, the striving to preserve strategic superiority at all costs induced the US leaders to step up the arms race.

Also, in favour of an unchecked arms race it was contended that in the nuclear age too wars were inevitable. It was declared that the USSR and the USA had many intersecting interests and commitments in the world which inevitably led to conflict situations that would in certain cases be impossible to settle by negotiations.

Proponents of an unchecked arms race believe that with

its high technological level the West is capable of perfecting armaments more rapidly, and that this will clear the way for superiority, even if shortlived, over the Soviet Union.

In favouring larger arsenals of strategic armaments, they often offer the contention that superiority in this type of armaments will give the West a dependable deterrent, and that this will ensure peace, in other words, the absence of conflicts even with the use of conventional weapons.

But when the question of conventional armaments is brought up, the proponents of an unbridled arms race explain that stockpiles have to be increased because a successful war with conventional weapons will make it unnecessary for the West to use nuclear weapons.

Western analysts offer also technical arguments in support of an unchecked conventional arms race. They argue that scientific and technological breakthroughs have changed and will go on changing conventional armed forces qualitatively to the extent that very soon the latter will be in a position to carry out strategic tasks such as the destruction of launching pads, installations, and silos of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The proponents of an unchecked arms race have a certain ideological foundation in common. It is rabid anti-Sovietism. Blindness caused by anti-Sovietism often prevents Western political leaders from assessing a situation realistically and seeing the world for what it actually is.

They have a certain social base as well. This is the military-industrial complex and the extreme right-wing US academics employed by it. According to the thinking of these persons, the strategic situation in the world will be satisfactory only if military superiority is constantly in the hands of the West.

What induced the USA to agree to bring the arms race under control?

Towards the beginning of the 1970s Western leaders realised that they would not retain superiority by means of an unchecked arms race. This race generated an unstable situation in the world and increased the threat of a nuclear conflict. Another reason that made the Western leaders rethink their stand was the consciousness that the old forms of the arms race were not producing the desired result, namely,

military superiority. As a result, the "contest" between the relative significance of quantitative and qualitative ways of increasing military strength was won by qualitative ways in the 1970s. This was precisely when the political leaders of the West began to accentuate the qualitative arms race and shifted their efforts to attempts to achieve a technological breakthrough in the military sphere.

The switch to a race for quality generates greater interest in verification. Since it is aimless and dangerous to squander resources, attempts must be made to halt the arms race in areas that are the least promising in military and political terms and "forge ahead" in the more promising areas. This way of action, Western strategists assert, allows: 1) safeguarding the security of the USA; 2) reducing the risk of a nuclear war; 3) and stabilising the arms race; in other words, directing the arms race into a channel benefiting the USA.

The USA's objective in agreeing to talks on limiting armaments was to jockey itself into a position from which it could dictate its own "rules of the game" in the arms race and thereby acquire military advantages. There was another objective, namely, to "rationalise" new strategic arms programmes.

Among the proponents of a controlled arms race there are some who feel that no treaties can be a guarantee against war. Hence the conclusion that in the mid-1980s the strategic balance will be determined not by treaties but by military programmes. In other words, arms control "will at best be a by-product of national decisions about defence programmes and budgets, rather than a way of influencing these".

The proponents of a controlled arms race seek to end the race only in words, but are in fact fostering a "legalised" way of continuing it. However, they represent a sort of intermediate element. In the West there are persons who are urging a cessation of the arms race and the attainment of disarmament, and their numbers are growing.

Western propaganda has lately been more frequently trying to impute an "equal" responsibility to the USSR and the USA for the arms race. What motivates this?

Frightened by the powerful growth of the anti-war movement, the imperialists have started a propaganda campaign

in order to sell in the West some false notions about military-political problems and thereby debilitate and undermine the movement against the nuclear threat. These attempts have produced, among other things, the invention that the USSR and the USA are "equally responsible" for the arms race.

Bourgeois political leaders count on using these inventions to *diminish the effective impact that is being made on Western public opinion by the foreign policy of peace pursued by the USSR and other socialist countries* and by the concrete peace initiatives advanced by the socialist states, above all by the Soviet Union.

The aims of the propaganda about the "equal responsibility" of the USSR and the USA for the arms race are quite concrete and bear the clear imprint of US and NATO policy. Acceptance of this propaganda ploy is tantamount to *justifying the aggressive militarist policies of the USA and NATO*.

The hypocrisy of this propaganda is that it creates the impression of criticising the US government as well, of being "fair" and "balanced". However, the arguments about the arms race, regardless of its political and class substance and the specific posture of the states involved, harbour a striving to shield the USA and its allies, who bear the responsibility for the arms race, for creating hindrances to the settlement of outstanding questions related to disarmament.

It must be acknowledged that some people in the West have let themselves be manipulated by the imperialist propaganda machine. This has in some measure been due to the circumstance that in recent years the anti-war movement has been joined by large numbers of people with different ideological and political leanings and, in many cases, inexperienced and politically naive.

It is no secret that the "equal responsibility" thesis is accepted by anti-war organisations in some West European states, for example, by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Netherlands Inter-Denominational Peace Council, and also by some political parties. For them the "equal responsibility" assertion serves as an ideological platform around which they are endeavouring to rally their supporters and keep them away from other peace movements. Arguments about "equal responsibility" are present also in the propaganda of the leading socialist and Social Democratic parties of Western Europe.

By virtue of its social, class nature the Soviet Union has never started nor can ever start an arms race. It pursues a foreign policy of peace and this is expressed in concrete initiatives. It is the truth about Soviet foreign policy that the exponents of the "equal responsibility" thesis fear.

Although the distinctions that sometimes appear in the approach taken by different US political leaders and analysts to the arms race are substantial, most of them agree in their *assessment of its significance to the USA as a means that can rapidly increase its military power and hence its aggregate strength*. They feel that, in turn, this will reinforce the USA's international standing and, in the long term, enable US imperialism to dictate its will to the rest of the world. To understand the substance of this issue it is important to know not only the role accorded to the arms race in US foreign policy but also who is responsible for it, what forces set it into motion.

In other words, to give a correct reply it is necessary to ascertain in whose interests the arms race is being conducted and who benefits by it in the USA. The reply to the first part of the question may be as follows: the arms race is vital to the overwhelming majority of the US ruling class as a way of protecting the imperialist interests of the US bourgeoisie as a whole. In other words, the arms race mirrors the imperialist thrust of US foreign policy.

More than a hundred years ago Karl Marx noted that in the wars of "the most modern period of the imperialist bourgeoisie ... the general leaning towards barbarity acquires a certain method, immorality becomes a system, lawlessness gets its lawgivers and club-law its lawbooks".¹

The various groups of the US ruling class and their spokesmen in governmental legislative and administrative agencies have a dissimilar interest in the arms race. It brings the largest benefits to the military-industrial complex, whose interests are linked directly to the manufacture of armaments and the servicing of the military machine. The benefits enjoyed by persons making up the military-industrial complex (material and political benefits) are in direct proportion to the volume of armaments production and the size of the military machine.

In the US social structure there are spokesmen of a sec-

¹ Karl Marx, "Invasion!", in Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, p. 439.

tion of the ruling class that have no direct interest in receiving superprofits from the arms race. However, even this section of the US ruling class wants US imperialism to retain strong positions in the world. It feels that this can be achieved by "stabilising" the arms race and laying down the "rules of the game" in the armaments contest. There are occasions when some spokesmen of this wing agree that the military budget should be cut down, believing that enough has already been done to sustain the positions of strength.

The role of the arms race in the USA's military-political strategy is reinforced by the hypertrophied significance that the US ruling circles attach to the use of military power in international affairs.

*What role is played by direct misinformation
of the public in the arms race propaganda?*

It is a tried and tested propaganda weapon of US imperialism, which has raised the big lie to the level of state policy. Since the end of World War II US imperialism has been conducting psychological warfare against the USSR, using, among other things, "computations" of the balance of military strength between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO and between the USSR and the USA.

Former general and Italian senator Nino Pasti writes that the "US secret agencies have the possibility of quietly—directly or through the mass media of other countries linked to them—disseminating information and news that best of all serve the interests of US domestic and foreign policies. Governments of NATO member-states are guided by this shameless, putting it mildly, misinformation in making their domestic and foreign policy decisions".

This "shameless misinformation" includes the Pentagon's propaganda pamphlet entitled *Soviet Military Power* cooked up to delude public opinion in NATO countries. It was not accidental that this pamphlet was published at a time when in these countries anti-war feeling began to grow among large sections of public opinion, criticism of the bloc's foreign policy became more vocal, and there was a growth of the number of people demanding a freeze on nuclear arsenals and a ceiling on military budgets. The pamphlet offers juggled information, its authors unblushingly

manipulating statistics and "analytical" deductions. With a foreword written by the US Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger, it is by no means an original attempt to prove that the Soviet Union is superior to the USA in military terms. Its compilers had to sweat profusely as they tried to prove what cannot be proved.

What is the actual situation regarding the balance of strength between East and West?

On this issue senior officials of both the USSR and the USA have time and again made statements noting that there is a relative equilibrium between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO and between the USSR and the USA. In recent years such statements were made on the American side by Jimmy Carter (April 25, 1979), Harold Brown (April 5, 1979), Alexander Haig (February 23, 1981), and Caspar Weinberger himself, who on February 8, 1982 in fact denied that the USSR possessed nuclear superiority.

Let us consider the balance of strength in order to see the picture as a whole. Let us draw comparisons of the following indicators: correlation of strategic nuclear forces of the USSR and the USA, intermediate-range nuclear systems in Europe, so-called tactical nuclear forces, general purpose forces of the USSR and the USA and of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO, and the naval strength of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO.

At the outset we must make the reservation that the comparison between the armed forces of the USSR and the USA and of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO does not embrace the entire balance of strength between imperialism and socialism, because it does not take into account the military potential of the USA's other allies, for instance, of such a major imperialist power as Japan. Nor does the count include some geographical and geopolitical factors that substantially influence the balance of military strength, such as, for instance, the strategically advantageous geographical location of the USA.

Nevertheless, a comparison of the armed forces proper of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and of the USA and the USSR would be useful in the sense that it will give further evidence of how far the propagandists of the USA and NATO have wrapped themselves in lies.

What is the actual balance of strength in strategic armaments?

An approximate equilibrium was maintained between the USA and the USSR throughout the 1970s; this was confirmed by US political and military leaders. An equilibrium of this sort did not and could not signify a mirror reflection of the forces of the opposing sides, because they developed along independent directions. Before comparing strategic potentials we should single out the basic and secondary criteria of comparison. For strategic forces basic are the quantity and quality of warheads (their accuracy, power, and dependability), and also the total number of delivery vehicles. The number of delivery vehicles and of warheads, of independently targetable warheads in the first place, is the basic indicator of a nation's strategic strength.

To begin with, let us consider the balance of strength in the total number of nuclear warhead carriers, as well as the situation as regards individual types. This is precisely the indicator they are trying to use in Washington, making people believe that the USA is "lagging behind" the USSR.

At the SALT-2 negotiations the USA and the Soviet Union exchanged statistics on their strategic nuclear forces. In the adopted document on the establishment of primary statistics the USSR and the USA stated that as of July 18, 1979 their strategic armaments totalled as follows:

Carrier	USA	USSR
ICBM launchers	1,054	1,398
MIRVed ICBM launchers	550	608
SLBM launchers	656	950
MIRVed SLBM launchers	496	144
Heavy bombers	574	156
Heavy bombers equipped with cruise missiles with a range of over 600 kilometres	3	0

This table shows that the USSR had a somewhat larger number of ICBMs, including MIRVed ICBMs and SLBM launchers. But, for its part, the USA has considerably more MIRVed SLBMs (over three times more) and strategic air-

craft. These distinctions are reflective of the specifics of the development of US and Soviet strategic weapons. The USA concentrated on sea and air components of its strategic forces, while the USSR accentuated land-based components.

In the course of several decades the strategic capabilities of the USSR and the USA have developed along different channels, with account of the political, geographical, and military-technical factors of each country. As a result, a large proportion of the USSR's strategic capability (70 per cent) consists of ICBMs, while that of the USA (over 80 per cent) consists of SLBMs. However, when the sides exchanged statistics they found that essentially there was an equilibrium.

Despite their own evaluations, the Pentagon analysts are now trying to create the impression that the USA is "lagging behind". This is being done by juggling with the facts. For instance, the number of US strategic aircraft is understated by at least 300 units! Could it be that in recent years the USA had decommissioned these aircraft? Nothing of the sort. On the contrary, the Pentagon is modernising its strategic aircraft on a wide scale, equipping its B-52 bombers with long-range cruise missiles.

Perhaps the situation will be seen to be different if we consider the balance in the number of nuclear warheads?

The USA has far more warheads than the Soviet Union. The press carries different data on this score, but this fact is not questioned anywhere by anybody. Retired British Brigadier-General Michael Harbottle, Secretary-General of the World Disarmament Campaign, noted that the USA "had in 1979 about 13,000 units of strategic nuclear weapons as against 7,400 units in the Soviet Union".

Let us glance at the situation in the mid-1970s, when, as they now assert in Washington, not enough was done by the USA to increase its strategic potential. The following table indicates that in those years the USA had a considerable preponderance over the Soviet Union.

The table below does not list the nuclear warheads carried by aircraft of the US Strategic Air Force, the superior number of which cannot be denied even by Pentagon propagandists. Thus, in the mid-1970s the USA had more than three times as many warheads as the USSR.

*Number of Warheads (Including Independently
Targetable) of the Strategic Forces of the USA
and the USSR in Mid-1976*

Type of Weapon	USA	USSR
ICBM warheads	2,154	1,980
SLBM warheads	5,120	885
Total	7,274	2,865

Has the situation changed in recent years?

As a result of the counter-measures taken by the USSR the gap has been narrowed, of course. But even now there is a certain preponderance in favour of the USA.

The Pentagon prefers people not to know the fact that as for the total deliverable number of nuclear warheads in one launch/sortie the USA to this day exceeds the USSR.

This betrays a desire to apply a double measure: one for oneself, and the other for the USSR. In fact Washington directed all its efforts in the 1970s to increasing the number of warheads. Experts of the USSR Defence Ministry note that in terms of nuclear warheads the USA's strategic capability approximately doubled (from 5,100 to 13,000 units) in the period from 1970 to 1980. Another reason why in the USA they prefer not to speak of this is that in the current decade they are planning to at least double their nuclear arsenal for the conduct of a "protracted limited" nuclear war.

However, a strategic nuclear capability is measured not only by the number of nuclear warheads. Indicators such as accuracy, yield, and dependability are also important.

In the 1970s there was serious work in the USA to improve precisely these indicators. Whereas in 1972, as the *SIPRI* (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute) *Yearbook* states, the most dependable US missiles had an accuracy (circular error probable) of 500 metres, at the close of the 1970s this probable was reduced to about 200 metres!

General John D. Ryan, the US Air Force Chief of Staff, declared in 1970: "We have a programme we are pushing to increase the yield of our warheads and decrease the cir-

cular error probable, so that we have what we call a hard-target killer." Thus, as a result of the replacement of the separating tip elements of the Mark-12A and of the nuclear warheads to them on Minuteman missiles, accuracy, according to the former US Defence Secretary Harold Brown was doubled, the destructive force was increased eightfold, and the effectiveness against missile silos was enhanced 16-fold.

The accuracy of SLBMs has likewise been boosted substantially. Whereas the circular error probable of the Polaris A-3 was 900 metres and that of Poseidon C-3 was 550 metres, that of Poseidon C-4 was brought down to 500 metres and of Trident-1 to less than 400 metres; that of the future Trident-2 SLBMs is expected to be 90 metres! Heightened accuracy makes armaments, as everybody knows, substantially more effective. Thus, the capability of one Ohio SSBN carrying Trident missiles is superior to 10 SSBNs equipped with 160 Polaris A-3 missiles.

Lastly, there has been a significant improvement of the accuracy and dependability of the assault weapons carried by US strategic aircraft, for which SRAM assault missiles (up to 20 missiles per B-52 bomber, and six per B-3 bomber) were made available in the 1970s. The US Strategic Air Force now has some 800 nuclear missiles with a range of 2,600 kilometres. In the Soviet book *Whence the Threat to Peace* it is stated that "though the number of delivery vehicles was not increased, the US strategic offensive forces' nuclear weapons delivery capability at one launch/sortie doubled in the course of the 70s. Their hard target kill capability and combat flexibility went up considerably."

The USA is now producing large numbers of new nuclear warheads. Some Western experts estimate that at least 17,000 new compact, powerful, and accurate nuclear warheads will be manufactured during the current decade.

Another important aspect is the balance of intermediate-range nuclear systems in Europe. This category of systems includes missiles and aircraft with an operational range of from 1,000 to 5,000 kilometres. By deploying them in Europe the Pentagon counts on turning these types of weapons into an additional component of the USA's strategic potential. As concerns medium-range nuclear weapons, NATO now has an advantage both in delivery vehicles (missiles and aircraft) and the number of warheads these vehicles can lift in one launch. The Soviet Union has 850

delivery vehicles and some 2,000 nuclear warheads, while NATO has 990 vehicles and more than 3,000 nuclear warheads.

Washington distorts the facts when it fails to include British and French medium-range weapons in the count, as well as US carrier-based aviation (some 450 delivery vehicles and 1,500 nuclear warheads), while it counts all Soviet weapons, even those deployed in the east of the country (in its Asiatic part) which have nothing to do with the balance of strength in Europe.

What is the situation as regards the balance of strength in so-called tactical nuclear weapons?

The development of tactical nuclear weapons was initiated by the government in Washington. It may be said without exaggeration, and this is, incidentally, freely admitted in Washington as well, that the USA has a considerable (2:1) lead over the Soviet Union in the number of tactical nuclear warheads deployed in Western Europe. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute estimates that in Western Europe the USA has over 7,000 tactical nuclear warheads of different types (against the 3,500 Soviet nuclear warheads). Further, it has at least 2,000 in Asia, 2,500 at sea, and a minimum of 10,000 on its own territory. This is perhaps the reason that in the Pentagon pamphlet (*Soviet Military Power*) so little is said about the balance between the USSR and the USA in tactical nuclear weapons. In order to divert attention from this problem, the pamphlet offers long-winded arguments about the modernisation of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Who has the advantage in general purpose forces?

There is an approximate parity between the general purpose armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO and of the USSR and the USA. Of course, this does not mean there is a complete coincidence in all indicators of military strength. As in other areas of the military confrontation, there are some imbalances in favour of the West as of the East. "But the specific imbalances to be observed on either side," experts of the Soviet Defence Ministry say, "do not affect the overall equilibrium."

In many cases imperialist political spokesmen try to set apart elements of individual imbalances—those that are of advantage to them. The tactics used by bourgeois propagandists, US propagandists in the first place, can hardly be called ethical. They arbitrarily use individual components of the armed forces or armaments out of context in order to portray “the superiority of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in conventional strength”. They importunately repeat the charge of “Soviet superiority” in tanks, tactical aircraft, submarines, number of divisions, and so on.

Soviet experts point out that a comparison of the combatworthy divisions available to the sides is a universally acknowledged indicator of the strength of the conventional armaments of the sides.

For a long time there has been an approximate parity between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in Europe. This is expressed by the fact that in Europe 89 NATO divisions are opposed by 78 divisions of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. Further, the numerical strength of a deployed US division totals between 16,000 and 19,000 effectives, while that of a West German division is over 20,000 effectives, but a Warsaw Treaty Organisation division has not more than 11,000.

The aggregate number of Soviet divisions is indeed larger than that of American divisions. The reason for this is that the USSR has a bigger territory, much of which is in the Asian continent.

In order to justify the line towards escalating the arms race the Pentagon understates the number of tanks at NATO's disposal by half, and overstates by nearly double the number of tanks available to the other side. The juggling method used by it does not sparkle with originality: only those NATO tanks are counted that come under the NATO allied command, without account of those in West European depots (1,500 US tanks) and directly subordinate to NATO's West European member-states (6,500 tanks). Taking this weaponry into account, experts of the USSR Defence Ministry point out, NATO is not behind the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in the total number of tanks. Besides, it must be noted that the NATO countries have considerably more anti-tank weapons than the Warsaw Treaty states.

In comparing the tactical air forces, the authors of the Pentagon pamphlet try to sell the idea that the Warsaw

Treaty Organisation has more than a threefold advantage. The actual ratio is 1 : 1.2 in favour of the Warsaw Treaty. The reason for this is that in order to neutralise the threat of an invasion of socialist countries by imperialist powers the USSR has had to build up a powerful air-defence system that includes a large number of interceptor aircraft. Further, it should not be forgotten that the balance is in favour of NATO in the numerical strength of helicopters, which are becoming increasingly more important in the offensive potential.

In the White House they regard it as inconceivable that the Soviet Navy can compare with the US Navy in strength. And in the same breath they repeat the fabrication that in naval strength the USA is behind the Soviet Union. In actual fact the naval strength of the USA and NATO consists of 26 aircraft-carriers (of which 21 are American), while the Soviet Navy has only two anti-submarine aircraft-carriers. However, in comparing the naval strength of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO the Pentagon sleight-of-hand artists claim that their Navy has only seven aircraft-carriers (two less than in 1971!), thereby understating the attack capability of their Navy by 71.5 per cent.

The Soviet Union and its allies have an advantage in the number of submarines and small coastguard vessels. Meanwhile, NATO has the edge in all basic indicators of naval strength: number of basic class vessels, fire power, and number of guard and anti-submarine vessels, landing craft, and cutters.

Attention must also be drawn to the fact that the US naval air force has two and a half times more aircraft than the Soviet Navy, and its strike capability edge is even greater, while the US Marine Corps is 16 times as large as the Soviet Naval Infantry. The actual imbalances in favour of one side or the other are: the socialist countries have the advantage in defensive weaponry, while the USA and NATO have the edge in offensive armaments. This is eloquent and irrefutable expression of the aggressiveness of the NATO military doctrine and the structure of that bloc's military forces. The Warsaw Treaty Organisation's military doctrine and military policy are unreservedly defensive.

Chapter 3

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ARMS RACE

When and by whom was the nuclear arms race started?

Priority in the arms race belongs to the USA. This race commenced as soon as the Second World War ended. This coincidence was no accident. The defeat of Nazi Germany and militarist Japan, the substantial weakening of the positions held by imperialism, and the simultaneous growth of the national liberation movement generated a military and political situation in which the forces of imperialism and the USA, their embodiment in those years, could no longer count on vanquishing the socialist community by means of "traditional" types of weapons.

The subsequent strengthening of the Soviet Union's international positions and the advances of the revolutionary and national liberation movements expressed in the emergence of a community of socialist countries and in the conquest of political independence by colonies and semi-colonies and, lastly, the weakening of the leading imperialist states fundamentally reshaped the political make-up of our planet. US imperialism saw that it would not destroy socialism with traditional political instruments (economic blockade, military intervention, and diplomatic isolation).

Judging by the situation assessment submitted by the US Joint Chiefs of Staff submitted to the US Secretary of State as early as 1944, the former saw the new balance of strength in the world. This assessment urged the utmost prudence in the USA's relations with the USSR: "The successful termination of the war against our present enemies will find a world profoundly changed in respect of relative national military strengths, a change more comparable indeed with that occasioned by the fall of Rome than with any other change occurring during the succeeding fifteen hundred years. This is a fact of fundamental importance in its bearing upon future international political settlements

and all discussions leading thereto... After the defeat of Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union will be the only military powers of the first magnitude. This is due in each case to a combination of geographical position and extent, and vast munitioning potential... (The) strength and geographical positions of these two powers preclude the military defeat of one of these powers by the other, even if that power were allied with the British Empire."

Hence the hopes that were placed on nuclear weapons as the basic political and military means of destroying existing socialism, and hence the huge effort to develop these weapons, to increase their stockpiles, yield, and accuracy.

In accordance with the 1946 atomic energy bill the then US President Harry S. Truman made nuclear weapons an independent element of his foreign and military policies, with only the US President personally having the prerogative to order the use of these weapons.

The Soviet Union had no nuclear weapons at the time and, naturally, no plans for using such weapons. But the USA, on the contrary, was laying its plans in the belief that the Soviet Union would have no effective response in the immediate future.

Thus, it was not security but political interests that prompted the USA to start the nuclear race when World War II was brought to an end.

What methods did the political and military leadership in Washington choose to adjust the USA to the post-war balance of strength?

This is seen clearly by the USA's actions. In July 1946 President Truman ordered his special adviser Clark M. Clifford to prepare a report on the prospects for Soviet-US relations. This report, submitted to the president in September of the same year, recommended keeping the Soviet Union politically, militarily, and psychologically weak relative to the external forces outside the limits of its control. A more substantive and bluntly-worded objective of US foreign policy was scripted in directive NSC-68, which marked a drastic turn by the USA towards an arms race.

Then began the indoctrination of the people with the purpose of making them regard a former ally as their present enemy. The cause of the cold war was thus imperialism's fear of socialism's growing strength and the confidence that

the USA could indefinitely maintain a military superiority over the Soviet Union on account of its nuclear weapons monopoly, its more sophisticated and more powerful industrial facilities, and other resources. This vision of the world, later called the technological arms race in American politicalology, was founded on the belief that the burden of the arms race, imposed upon the world by the USA, would place the socialist countries before the option of either accepting political dictation from US imperialism or suffering economic collapse, which would in the long run also open the prospect of US world dominance.

The nuclear arms race was thus by no means an accidental or, much less, a forced counter-measure of the USA, as imperialism's spokesmen claim. It was deliberately chosen by the USA's rulers as an anti-socialist strategy with far-reaching political aims.

*Who is the leader in the postwar arms race?
The USSR or the USA?*

Ever since the end of World War II, Washington has, in implementing its strategy, sought to develop and stockpile ever more powerful and sophisticated types of armaments. The USSR was confronted with the need to take the relevant counter-measures to safeguard its own security and the security of other socialist-community countries. The following are only a few examples cited, incidentally, by a former NATO general.¹

Weapons system	USA	USSR
Atomic bomb	1946	1950
Hydrogen bomb	1953	1954
Strategic bomber	1953	1957
Intermediate-range missiles	1953	1959
Tactical nuclear weapons	1955	1956
Intercontinental ballistic missiles	1955	1957
Nuclear submarine	1956	1962
Sea-based ballistic missiles	1959	1968
Anti-missiles	1960	1961
Hard-fuel ICBMs	1962	1969
MIRVed ICBMs	1970	1975
Cruise missiles	1976	—

¹ *Generals for Peace*, Moscow, 1982, p. 150 (in Russian).

Was the USA planning a nuclear strike at Soviet territory, and in what way?

In the early years following the end of the war attention was focussed mainly on the nuclear bomb itself. However, delivery vehicles were of enormous significance. These were strategic aircraft, which the USSR started to develop somewhat later than the USA.

Indeed, to achieve "overwhelming" strategic superiority the accent in US military policy during the first postwar decade was chiefly on accelerating the development of strategic aircraft.

In March 1946 the US Strategic Air Command was constituted as an independent fighting arm. It consisted of long-range bombers carrying atomic bombs. Initially, its nucleus comprised B-29 and B-50 bombers. In 1951 it began receiving B-47 jet bombers. However, these were not long-range aircraft that could be used for intercontinental missions and for that reason the US strategic aircraft became dependent on bases on foreign territory and on the fleet of KC-97 refuelling aircraft.

The military budget for the 1949 fiscal year was planned to fund 50 air groups, but since the US leaders believed that in a future war strategic aircraft would have the basic role to play, the number of air groups was increased to 70.

The following table shows personnel distribution by the US leadership among the three services in 1949:

	Final	Over and above the initial programme
Army	690,000	8,000
Navy	552,000	0
Air Force	453,000	53,000

From this table it is obvious that a reconsideration benefited the Air Force. In the early period of "nuclear diplomacy" the thinking was that any military or political problem could be quickly and successfully resolved by means of the atomic bomb. "To realise this solution, one needed only to leapfrog the front lines with aircraft (later, missiles) and to inflict unbearable suffering on the civilian population."

American experts have estimated that a minimum of 400 atomic bombs would be needed to inflict on the Soviet

Union damage comparable to the losses inflicted on Nazi Germany by Allied aircraft in the Second World War. Taking the effectiveness of the Soviet air defence system into account and counting that only one out of every ten dispatched aircraft would reach its target, the USA would have to have at least 4,000 strategic bombers and a similar number of atomic bombs. None of this was available to the USA at the time. In 1949 Washington steered a course towards the creation of huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons and a powerful strategic aircraft. In the autumn of 1949 Truman approved a dramatic increase of the manufacture of nuclear weapons. In October 1950, after the Korean war had broken out, he endorsed a further acceleration of the output of nuclear systems and of delivery vehicles.

As a result, the Pentagon's stockpile of atomic bombs went up from 150 units in 1948 to nearly 1,000 units in 1951. However, the arms race did not bring the USA the results it expected. In 1947 the Soviet government announced that the "secret of the atomic bomb no longer exists", while in 1949 the USSR successfully tested a nuclear device. Thus, nothing came of US imperialism's hope of the USA achieving "technological" superiority.

From this circumstance the US leaders drew a conclusion that ran counter to reason. At a meeting of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff with the US Congressional Atomic Energy Commission, held a month after the Soviet Union tested its atomic bomb, General Vandenberg urged the development of a hydrogen bomb. On January 31, 1950 Truman announced that he had "directed the Atomic Energy Commission to continue its work on all forms of atomic weapons, including the so-called hydrogen or super-bomb".

Another miscalculation lay in wait of the USA. Through the efforts of its scientists, engineers, and workers the Soviet Union was able to neutralise the US advantage quickly. General of the Soviet Army A. A. Epishev declared: "It may be said without exaggeration that the development of the Soviet atomic and hydrogen bombs in response to US nuclear blackmail saved the human race at the time from the global military conflagration that was being kindled by the Pentagon. Another 'cold shower' for the Western hawks has been the development of Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles, which put an end to the 'inaccessibility' of the US continent in the event the US imperialists unleash a war against the USSR."

Taking the counter-measures dictated by the circumstances, the Soviet Union began building up a strategic air force. By the mid-1950s the USA could no longer hope to act with impunity. Its territory had become accessible for a retaliatory strike. However, under the impact of the inertia of military-political thinking in the USA comprehension of this fact reached the consciousness of the US leaders very slowly. An American academic, Lawrence S. Kaplan, writes: "As long as military considerations remain paramount in the execution of American policy, military considerations will dominate the formulation of that policy."

Is there evidence of US preparations to attack the USSR with nuclear weapons?

Preparations for a line towards confrontation with the Soviet Union had in fact been started while World War II was still raging. The US military machine, which had won no special distinction on the battlefields of Europe, looked for an opportunity to show its strength.

The atomic bombing of Japan was, consequently, a purely political action. Its objective was to demonstrate that the USA was in possession of a weapon of unprecedented destructive strength.

This inhuman demonstration of the atomic bomb's destructive capability was meant for the eyes of those international political and public forces that, in the view of the US ruling elite, could prevent US imperialism from asserting itself in a dominant role in the postwar world. The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the first step taken by US nuclear diplomacy.

Official documents that have now been declassified make it plain that US imperialism was secretly preparing for a nuclear war against the USSR. It was intended to attack the USSR with atomic bombs as early as 1945 (Directive 432/D). A total of 196 atomic bombs were to be dropped on Soviet cities. By the autumn of 1947 as many as 100 cities were selected as targets for nuclear strikes. In the period from 1947 to 1949 inclusively the significance of individual targets in the Soviet Union waned, and prominence began to be given to centres of state administration and concentrations of industrial facilities in cities.

The dimensions of the planned air attack grew in proportion to the growth of nuclear stockpiles. The Broiler plan

of military operations provided for hitting 24 cities with 34 bombs. The US Air Force's Harrow plan, which complemented the Frolic and Halfmoon plans drawn up by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, envisaged raids on 20 Soviet cities with the use of 50 bombs. The overall Trojan plan of military operations, approved in December 1948, envisaged the incineration of 70 Soviet cities with 133 atomic bombs.

Under the Charioteer plan atomic bombs were to be dropped on 70 Soviet cities in 1948. In 1949, under the Drop-shot plan, 85 per cent of the Soviet industrial capacity was to be destroyed with 300 atomic bombs and 250,000 tons of conventional bombs. In 1950, there were to be strikes at 100 Soviet cities with 300 atomic bombs.

The architects of these plans hoped that a successive series of atomic bombings would inflict so much destruction on the Soviet Union as to bring it to its knees before US imperialism.

Many governmental documents relating to the period 1945-1950 have been declassified in recent years. These make it plain that, first, the USA was preparing for an unprovoked attack against the USSR and, second, that it was planning to use its nuclear superiority in this attack. The following are only a few of a long list of illustrative instances:

"When it becomes evident that forces of aggression are being arrayed against us by a potential enemy,¹ we cannot afford, through any misguided and perilous idea of avoiding an aggressive attitude to permit the first blow to be struck against us. Our government, under such conditions, should press the issue to a prompt political decision, while making all preparations to strike the first blow if necessary."

Basis for the Formulation of a US Military Policy. Memorandum Prepared by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, September 19, 1945

¹ This wording is a typical subterfuge designed to depict the USSR as the aggressor. However, even this subterfuge does not explain how the USSR could attack the USA in the 1940s when it had neither nuclear weapons nor the means of delivering them.—*Authors.*

"Therefore, in order to maintain our strength at a level which will be effective in restraining the Soviet Union, the United States must be prepared to wage atomic and biological war."

American Relations With the Soviet Union. Report by President Truman's Special Counsel Clark M. Clifford, September 24, 1946

"'United States Plan of Action'.

"...10. *Air Offensive*. Initiate as early as practicable an air offensive against vital elements of the Soviet war-making capacity. (Note. Assumption is made that authority to employ atomic bombs has been obtained.)

"a. Deploy available units of the Strategic Air Command to bases in England ... and to the Khartoum-Cairo-Suez area and conduct operations from these bases and Okinawa utilizing available atomic bombs against selected targets."

War Plan HALFMOON of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, July 21, 1948

"b. Target folders and navigation charts will be available by 1 February 1949 for operations against the first seventy [Soviet—Authors] cities. Currently available aeronautical charts (scale 1:1,000,000) are sufficiently accurate to permit aerial navigation to any desired point in the USSR."

Evaluation of Current Strategic Air Offensive Plans. Prepared for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, December 21, 1948

"The initial atomic offensive could produce as many as 2,700,000 mortalities, and 4,000,000 additional casualties, depending upon the effectiveness of Soviet passive defence measures. A large number of homes would be destroyed and the problems of living for the remainder of the 28,000,000 people in the 70 target cities would be vastly complicated."

Evaluation of Effect on Soviet War Effort Resulting from the Strategic

Air Offensive. Prepared for the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Secretary of Defence, May 11, 1949

How was the arms race affected by the modification of the USA's strategic concepts in the early 1950s?

The further change of the balance of strength between socialism and capitalism and the failure of US imperialism's aggression against the Korean people prompted an evolution of US military-political strategy and of the USA's attitude to the arms race. A "new" strategy was formulated by the Eisenhower administration in the "massive retaliation" doctrine. This doctrine was spelled out in directive NSC 162/2 and was endorsed by the US President in October 1953.

According to the American political analyst Morton H. Halperin the "massive retaliation" doctrine consisted of three basic elements: "An affinity for air power... The belief that the security of the United States depended as much on the health of the American economy as it did on the actual weapons... Finally, an important technological innovation... was the development of the so-called tactical nuclear weapons." These considerations are indirect evidence that for the USA itself the burden of the arms race is not at all a light one. Hence the quests for increasing the political effectiveness of nuclear strength with the purpose of preventing any further change of the socio-political situation in the world in favour of socialism. The doctrine set the orientation of aiming a massive nuclear strike at the enemy with the armaments and in places selected by the Pentagon. This doctrine was based on a three-year defence programme approved in December 1953. Its basic elements were:

1. Offensive strike power. The great speed with which a massive "preliminary" strike would be made meant that the Air Force would continue playing the central role in national defence.

2. Tactical nuclear arms. The second element of Eisenhower's nuclear strategy was the deployment of nuclear weapons on advanced lines on the pretext that there was a "Soviet threat" to Western Europe. It was planned to achieve this by demonstrating a readiness to use not only

the "massive power of a retaliatory strike" but also tactical nuclear weapons. The military programme of December 1953 was the first-ever to specify support with tactical nuclear weapons for US or allied armed forces in a global war or local aggression as one of the key components of the US military potential and strategy (the number of tactical nuclear weapons in Western Europe has exceeded 7,000 units.—*Ed.*)

3. The third element of the Eisenhower nuclear strategy, as enunciated in directive NSC 162/2, was the defence of the strike power of the mobilisation resources and the people. The Air Force began to work on the problem of anti-aircraft defence for the first time in 1947. A series of scientific studies were made of problems related to anti-aircraft and civil defence. In December 1952 President Truman authorised the building of a network of early-warning radar stations that would give warning of approaching bombers three to six hours before they are within striking area.

Concern over the danger that the USA might face prompted serious considerations of whether or not the nation should begin a war in order to ensure its defence. "Massive retaliation" made nuclear blackmail the main foreign policy weapon of the USA. Among other motivations that induced John Foster Dulles to suggest this strategy was the aspiration to provide the justification for building up stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

Correspondingly, there was an acceleration of the production of B-52 strategic bombers (the first of which began to be received by the Air Force in 1956) and of the formation of nuclear-missile forces. In 1959 the US Strategic Bomber Command had 1,366 B-47 bombers and 388 B-52 strategic bombers backed up by more than 1,000 KC-97 and KC-135 refuelling aircraft.

Strategic aircraft was given priority in the US military machine. More money was poured into it than into all the other services. Indicative in this context is the statement by US Rear Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias: "Most of our operational plans revolved around the bomb, envisaging as they did a transcontinental war in which huge planes would take off from the scattered fields of our Strategic Bomber Command in the U.S., carry A-bombs to carefully chosen targets in Russia, return to the United States and report to General LeMay, 'Mission accomplished, sir, the war is won!'"

The "new look" at the build-up of the USA's Armed Forces, advanced by the Eisenhower administration, proceeded from a desire to give the USA the potential, as speedily as possible, to fight a "global war" against the USSR. More and more powerful types of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles were developed to this end.

How was the arms race affected by the invention of missiles?

By the mid-1950s Washington was counting not only on strategic aircraft but also on missiles as vehicles for the delivery of nuclear warheads. In the early years after the war, using the documentation and other technical data seized in nazi Germany, the Pentagon began the development of unmanned missile aircraft and ballistic missiles.

In organising its missile programmes the Pentagon received considerable assistance from former nazi missile experts, who during World War II had developed the V-1 missile plane and the V-2 ballistic missile. The first generation of US cruise missiles was based on the V-1. The US Air Force developed the cruise Matador missile, which had a flight range of up to 1,000 kilometres (its subsequent modifications were the Mace and the Mace-B) and the Snark missile with a range of over 9,000 kilometres.

In 1954 work was started on the Atlas intercontinental ballistic missile (range—up to 10,000 kilometres), and the development of the Titan intercontinental ballistic missile (range—up to 12,000 kilometres) and of the Thor missile (range—3,000 kilometres) commenced in 1955. The first nuclear missiles were deployed in early 1957, and this was followed in 1958 with the deployment of the first Nike-Hercules anti-missile missiles. In 1957 the Americans began working on missiles of the second generation, christened Minuteman.

The development of submarine nuclear-missile systems dates from 1946. In 1953 the US Department of Defense set up a special committee to speed up the development of strategic systems. On the basis of its reports the production of ballistic missiles was officially given top priority in 1954. In 1955 these programmes were, by order of the president, accorded national significance.

The swift development of rocketry by the USA by no means signified that either in the latter half of the 1950s

or much later it had abandoned its efforts to perfect its strategic air force. Quite the opposite. To this day these two processes have been proceeding in parallel since the 1950s.

Why did the USA not use its nuclear capability against the USSR?

Intoxicated by their nuclear monopoly the military and political leaders of the USA were patting each other on the back, believing that the atomic bomb could be the "ultimate weapon" capable of deciding the outcome of an armed clash. But they soon sobered up. Until the early 1950s American nuclear diplomacy hinged upon bluff. The USA had very few atomic bombs and anyway the USSR had the capacity to destroy the airfields in Europe from which the USA might fly its B-29s. The increase of the nuclear stockpile did not bring about a solution of strategic problems. Even if all the bombs available at the time were dropped exactly on target, this would not have sufficed to force the USSR to capitulate.

Until the close of 1950 the USA's nuclear stockpile was much too small, while the bomb itself was much too bulky to be used against tactical targets such as army units and transport junctions.

Every effort was made to spread the nuclear myth, but the reality was that there were few bombs (by the end of 1948 the USA had about 150 atomic bombs), while the delivery vehicles were inaccurate and imperfect and could not give the USA absolute supremacy.

The disparity between the USA's actual capabilities and its military and political objectives was the basic reason that the US ruling circles did not, in the long run, venture to use the atomic bomb as envisaged in their initial plans.

What explains the fact that the USA simultaneously advanced the idea of controlling nuclear weapons—the so-called Baruch Plan?

Having put its stake on nuclear monopoly, the USA showed no interest in disarmament. Their thinking was that they should develop proposals that under the semblance of limiting armaments would contain the potential for maintaining US supremacy.

The US military leadership felt that the USA should preserve all its secrets for the manufacture of nuclear weapons

and keep the monopoly over this manufacture for as long as possible. On instructions from President Truman on August 15, 1945, everything pertaining to the atomic bomb was strictly classified. This was a major element laying the foundation for the USA's postwar policy and seriously influencing the international political climate.

Far-reaching political calculations were linked to the Baruch Plan by its compilers. "Administrative control", the pivot of the plan, bordered on political subversion. It was given the role of a lever, which it was hoped would help break the socialist system in the Soviet Union.

Richard J. Barnet, a US disarmament expert, evaluated the American proposals as follows: "...International ownership of all atomic materials and facilities meant in effect capitalist control of the Soviet atomic industry since the international agency would be made up primarily of non-Communist powers with economic and military ties to the United States." Lieberman, who researched the initial stage of US nuclear policy-making, concludes that the compilers of the Baruch Plan had the "total reorganisation" of Soviet society as their objective.

These megalomaniacal designs of the US leaders were futile, of course. But the attempt to get them off the ground had grave negative effects for the world. The American analyst Gar Alperovitz points out that "the idea that controls could be established (over atomic energy.—*Authors.*) if Russia became a [Western-style] democracy destroyed even the meager remaining of hope of international cooperation".

Basically, the Baruch Plan was that the nuclear monopoly should be used to enforce changes in the world order to benefit the USA. The American proposals for nuclear energy "control" were thus part and parcel of Washington's course towards revising the results of World War II in its favour.

What was the so-called "massive retaliation" strategy?

This strategy was proclaimed by John Foster Dulles in a speech in the Council on Foreign Relations on January 12, 1954. It called for a massive nuclear strike at an enemy with the means and in places of one's own choice. "Massive retaliation" turned nuclear blackmail into the principal vehicle of US foreign policy strategy.

The appearance of the "massive retaliation" strategy is sometimes seen as a reaction to the failure of the US military gamble in Korea. There are some grounds for this conclusion. Wanting to present American diplomacy as dynamic and innovative, Dulles believed that the proclamation of an "offensive" strategy would compensate for US imperialism's glaring foreign policy miscalculations.

But this is only one aspect of the matter. Among other motivations guiding Dulles was the striving to find a justification for the stockpiling of nuclear weapons. The loss of the nuclear monopoly, the miscalculations in the plans to outpace the Soviet Union in the development of the hydrogen bomb, and the political unfeasibility of using nuclear weapons in view of the visible military equilibrium in Korea seriously undermined the USA's position and, at the same time, strengthened the position of the international circles pressing for a ban on nuclear weapons.

The Dulles strategy gave nuclear weapons the role of "detering" war. The bourgeois mass media got the opportunity to assert that nuclear weapons were vital and, more, that their continued preservation was a guarantee against war.

Dictated by the need to adjust to the changes in the balance of world power, Washington's manoeuvres by no means led towards the consolidation of peace. There are more grounds for saying the opposite. The US ruling circles went along with a strategy that not only aggravated the cold war but in fact gave the US militarists freedom to use any pretext at any moment to unleash a nuclear war.

Dulles and his advisers were still thinking in terms of unchallenged US superiority, of the USA's ability not only to control but also to stage-manage international developments. It was believed that the USA was in a position to strike fear into any adversary and use pressure to predetermine the outcome of any political struggle.

Calculated on giving an adversary the impression of being under serious threat, "massive retaliation" could not yield the desired result because this threat rested on a tenuous foundation, because it was more bluff than anything else. The country against whom, in the first place, this threat was directed, the USSR, possessed comparable nuclear devices and there was therefore no possibility of fighting a nuclear war with impunity. On the contrary, such a war henceforth held out consequences to the USA that its economic and political structure could not withstand. As a matter of

fact, this was appreciated by the makers of US foreign policy as was borne out by their circumspection in carrying out not declarative but real actions.

What new elements appeared in the arms race during the John F. Kennedy administration in view of the certain shift of accents in Kennedy's foreign policy?

The new elements were expressed in the attempts to create "invulnerable" strategic forces, an "absolutely effective" anti-aircraft and anti-missile system, achieve "overwhelming superiority in strategic armaments", and so forth.

Understanding that there was a danger of a global nuclear conflict breaking out, US military-political thought worked, in parallel, in the direction of making more flexible use of nuclear and conventional weapons. The US historian Herbert Aptheker wrote in this connection: "...The effort under Kennedy ... has been to so increase armaments as to make possible the conducting of conventional warfare, limited nuclear conflict, or all-out thermonuclear warfare." The arms race shifted to nuclear missiles and new types of conventional weapons.

The Kennedy administration wanted to give the USA the potential to use nuclear power as an instrument of pressure by in advance securing overwhelming superiority in strategic armaments.

It was believed that the attainment of this objective would be facilitated by the scientific and technological breakthroughs. The US administration concentrated on the following areas:

- developing missiles;
- developing chemical and bacteriological weapons;
- building new types of nuclear-capable aircraft having a high operational range, and also supersonic aircraft capable of flying in the stratosphere and overwhelming the enemy's air defences. . . ;
- improving the detection and advance warning systems in order to make air defence more effective.

Considerable efforts were made in each of these areas and this, of course, gave impetus to the arms race. This progress resulted in fundamentally new means of warfare: low and super-low power nuclear warheads; missiles of all classes—from tactical to strategic; new toxins received by the US

Armed Forces in the 1960s; improved strategic aircraft; nuclear-powered missile submarines; and, lastly, radar technology and cybernetics.

The US first-generation liquid-fuel ICBMs—Atlas-E, Titan-1, and Atlas-F—became operational in 1960-1962. These were followed by second-generation Minuteman-1 and Titan-2 missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads with a one-megaton and 10-megaton yield respectively and with a range of 12,000 kilometres.

American experts estimated that in October 1962 the USA had a more than 3:1 edge over the USSR in strategic armaments, exclusive of strategic bombers. In 1963 the US President announced that in less than three years the USA had increased the number of its Polaris-armed submarines by 50 per cent, the total number of strategic bombers held in 15-minute combat readiness by 70 per cent, the total number of combat-ready strategic missiles by 100 per cent, and the number of tactical nuclear weapons stationed in Western Europe by 60 per cent.

An idea of the US strategic build-up during the Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson administrations is given in the following table:

*Rate of US Strategic Armaments Build-Up
in 1960-1967*

Systems	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
ICBMs	20	63	294	414	834	854	904	1,054
SLBMs	96	144	160	416	496	592	656	656

To avert the threat clearly shown by the above table, the Soviet Union had to take counter measures in the deployment of nuclear delivery vehicles. As a result, an approximate balance was achieved between the USSR and the USA by the close of the 1960s. Nothing came of US imperialism's calculations that the Soviet economy would not withstand the strain of the arms race challenge. This became finally obvious towards the beginning of the 1970s.

In November 1964 Robert S. McNamara decided to limit the number of deployed Minuteman-1 ICBMs to 1,000 units. In the Pentagon they came to the conclusion that a more effective way was not simply to increase the number of Minutemen but to replace them with a more efficient second generation of missiles—Minuteman-2. This total subsequent-

ly remained the "ceiling" for US ICBMs. However, this "ceiling" did not signify that US imperialism had abandoned its efforts to attain military-strategic superiority. The course towards this objective was only amended by directing the arms race into the channel of quality. Special hopes were placed on increasing the number of warheads by going over to cassette systems, whose development had started in the USA at the close of the 1950s. In November 1965 it was decided to equip Poseidon C-3 SLBMs with 10-14 independently targetable warheads with a yield of 50 kilotons each (Mark-3). The timetable of re-equipping submarines for the new missiles, beginning with 1966, was endorsed. Among US political and military leaders there again appeared proponents of the "counter-force" theory based on the idea of a future "US nuclear superiority".

One more area of the arms race was the modernisation and stockpiling of conventional armaments. In his last speech John F. Kennedy listed the main "achievements" of his administration: "We have ... added five combat-ready divisions to the Army of the United States, and five tactical fighter wings to the Air Force of the United States; increased our strategic airlift capability by 75 per cent; and increased our special counter-insurgency forces ... by 600 per cent."

What were the basic modifications of US foreign policy in the late 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s?

At the time it became evident that the "omnipotence", on which Washington had put its stake in world affairs, existed only in the imagination of American bourgeois politicians. There had to be a reassessment and re-weighing of the USA's international role in the light of factors over which the US leaders had no control.

One of the main factors prompting this reassessment was that the Soviet Union had a military and economic capability and enjoyed a political influence commensurate with that of the USA. It has not only levelled up with the USA in scientific and technological development but had forged ahead in some areas. Bernard Brodie of the RAND Corporation writes that the Soviet sputniks were a blow to American complacency, demonstrating for the first time that the Russians were capable of outstripping the USA in technical

achievements of major military implications. Brodie noted only one aspect of the matter. But an objective approach requires recognition of broader and more fundamental changes in the relative positions of the USSR and the USA. In assessing the new situation President Richard Nixon acknowledged that the strategic arsenals of the USA and the USSR had on the whole levelled up with each other. "I will remind the members of this press corps," he said at a news conference in the White House in April 1969, "that at that time [the early 1960s.—*Authors.*] all of the professional experts agreed that the US superiority was at least four to one, and maybe five to one, over the Soviet Union in terms of overall nuclear capability. Now we don't have that today. That gap has been closed."

Recognition of that there was a nuclear-missile equilibrium between the Soviet Union and the USA had to have repercussions in US foreign policy and the methods used by it. Further, it had become imprudent and politically dangerous to ignore the fact that US diplomacy's military-power methods, given almost top priority by the ruling circles of the USA, had outworn themselves. There was an imperative need to reconsider US foreign policy.

It was necessary to rethink the approach to the promotion of relations with the Soviet Union and, consequently, with other countries of the socialist community. There was no other way for resolving the problems confronting the US government.

The strategic equilibrium between the Soviet Union and the USA inescapably brought the American political leadership round to seeing the need for normalising relations between the two great powers. It was necessary to relearn what US diplomacy had dismissed from mind, namely, to respect the interests of other nations, notably of those that had a different socio-political system.

Washington introduced changes into its foreign policy hesitantly, with vacillation and zigzags that mirrored the acute struggle that was going on in the US ruling circles. Right-wing leaders, especially those linked to the military-industrial complex, did all they could to obstruct contacts with the Soviet Union. But objective factors continued to function.

The habitual inclination of American political leaders to regard the situation in the world through the prism of the USA's military capability explained the circumstance that

the reconsideration of US policy towards the USSR started with a reassessment of the balance of strategic power of the two nations.

It was necessary to abandon, once and for all, the idea that the USA would be invulnerable in the event of a global armed conflict. The USA's remoteness from the theatres of hostilities had played a major role in shaping the foreign-policy thinking of the US elite. With minimal losses and inconveniences to the USA, the wars that were fought in other regions of the world gave an impetus to American industrial development and helped to blunt the social problems in the USA itself. Even after the other side developed nuclear weapons and the vehicles for delivering them, in the USA they continued to believe that if the armed forces of a probable adversary did strike at the USA, the consequences of this strike would not seriously affect the nation's economic and social organism.

The belief of most American military and political leaders that they could act with impunity explained the persistence with which was preached the "rolling back of communism", "massive retaliation", and other doctrines that "endowed" the USA with the "right" to begin a nuclear war at any time it wanted.

In the 1970s the situation underwent a drastic change. The development of intercontinental ballistic missiles finally erased the advantage that the USA had been deriving from its geographical location.

In the USA they were beginning to understand, even if not entirely, that security had to be looked for on the road of bridling the arms race. The tendency towards reappraising existing political guidelines gradually matured. As we have already noted, the illusions about achieving strategic superiority gave way to the less ambitious "sufficiency" doctrine. The "flexible response" doctrine of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations was replaced by the "realistic containment" doctrine, which, according to its authors, signified greater flexibility in the choice of means.

"Sufficiency" did not imply, as subsequent developments demonstrated, the renunciation by the US military and political leaders of their striving to build up strategic strength and perfect the components of this strength. The efforts in that direction were continued. Moreover, the character and orientation of these efforts were evidence that the military-industrial complex was trying to use the "sufficiency" doc-

trine to camouflage actions whose objective was to bring the USA military-technological superiority. The accent moved to a qualitative race, i.e., to the accelerated development of new, more sophisticated and perfect strategic weapons systems.

What modifications came to light at the close of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s in Washington's arms race policy?

The alterations in the balance of strength at that time led to changes in the global strategic situation. The creation by the Soviet Union of a nuclear-missile capability in no way inferior to that of the USA was one of the cardinal factors of the new situation in the world. Regardless of the structural distinctions of the strategic forces of the USSR and the USA there was an overall equilibrium that precluded the attainment of decisive superiority by any side. In this lay the enormous, epochal service to mankind by existing socialism, which, drawing upon its advantages as an advanced social system and making a colossal effort, neutralised the scientific and technological challenge by imperialism and thereby halted the world's slide into the abyss of war.

The year 1968 witnessed a sort of turning-point in the build-up of US strategic armaments. On the one hand, the USA completed the earlier adopted strategic armaments programmes and, on the other, it was obviously moving to a qualitative strategic arms race.

While it waited for the appearance of new types of armaments, the Nixon administration stepped up the modernisation of existing strategic systems. Towards the close of the 1960s the USA had completed its offensive strategic armaments deployment programme adopted under Kennedy. In 1968 the USA began testing Minuteman-3 and Poseidon missiles equipped with independently targetable warheads, with which the Pentagon linked its hopes of ensuring military-technological superiority to the USA. The first ten MIRVed missiles were installed in launching silos in 1970. Test launchings of Poseidon commenced somewhat later. Within a few months (in the spring of 1971) the first missile carrier, equipped with new missiles, was placed in service. These were the initial steps to direct the offensive strategic arms race into the channel of quality.

Washington denied that it was trying to build up a "counter-force" potential designed for a "disarming" strike. It was asserted that the increase in the number of warheads would reinforce the deterring effect. Later, a new argument was advanced, namely that the MIRV programme would give the USA a "bargaining chip" at the Soviet-US strategic arms limitation talks.

However, the US imperialist strategists miscalculated, obviously overestimating the USA potentials and underestimating those of the Soviet Union. It was hoped that MIRVed strategic missiles would give the USA superiority. The USSR neutralised the US offensive potential by fitting its own missiles with analogous warheads. That closed the circle.

What significance did Washington assign to the strategic arms limitation talks in that period?

The immediate motivation for the SALT talks was the attainment by the Soviet Union of strategic parity with the USA. In this situation, which was new for US imperialism, the ruling class of the USA agreed to the talks with the ulterior motive of creating favourable conditions for the development of its own promising weapons systems and close the channels that, in the view of the American leaders, were enabling the Soviet Union to compete effectively with the USA. Concerned about the development of the Soviet 25-megaton SS-9 missiles and the build-up in Soviet ICBMs and submarines, Richard Nixon, who was the US President at the time, decided to sign SALT-1. By freezing missile numbers, the USA hoped to move the arms race to MIRVs and sophisticated new systems. In other words, it was presumed that the USA was better at developing high-technology weapons.

The USA's military and political leaders entered the SALT negotiations with the calculation that they would be able to step up in the arms race the orientation linked to research and development. They believed that at the time the interval between a scientific discovery and its technical application was shorter in the USA than in the USSR. This would give the USA some advantages which they sought to utilise. The American analysts William Kintner and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff maintained that "the SALT contributes to the emergence of a more delicate form of competition between

the superpowers, centering on R & D and regional balances of power which may include both nuclear and general-purpose forces”.

Thus, in the new strategic situation that emerged at the close of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s the US leaders tried to turn the strategic arms limitation talks into a means of changing the strategic balance in the USA's favour.

The impression one gets is that instead of raising obstacles to the arms race the SALT talks and agreements fostered it. Would that be a correct conclusion?

In the 1970s some US analysts opposed the SALT negotiations with the contention that these negotiations were giving rise to new strategic armaments programmes. But these analysts inaccurately reported the facts.

Indeed, the treaty and interim agreement concluded as a result of the SALT-1 negotiations did not close all the channels of the strategic arms race. As a matter of fact, this neither was nor could be their objective. All they did was to give an impetus to a process aimed first at limiting and then ending the strategic arms race.

The point is not so much what channels remained open to the arms race after these documents were signed as that the US ruling circles used the protraction of the negotiations to start a new round of the strategic arms race. By accentuating the shortcomings in the SALT agreement, bourgeois analysts objectively played into the hands of those elements in the US government and Congress that were inclined to oppose the dialogue with the Soviet Union.

SALT-1 was the result of a compromise between the two negotiating sides. The firm yet flexible stand adopted by the Soviet government and the persevering and consistent efforts by Soviet diplomacy cleared the way for a mutually beneficial agreement, which played a positive role in restraining the strategic arms race and was a factor stabilising relations between the USSR and the USA.

In assessing the significance of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems and the Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Weapons, signed on May 26, 1972, the Soviet leaders stressed: “The significance of these documents

is mainly that cumulatively they provided a solid political and legal foundation for the promotion of mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and the USA on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. To some extent they are reducing the threat of a nuclear war. It is precisely in this that we see the principal result of the development of Soviet-US relations over the past five years." Moreover, the successful consummation of the talks indicated that countries with different social systems could settle not only political but complicated military-technical issues.

What were the hallmarks of the arms race in the latter half of the 1970s?

The approximate military-strategic equilibrium that had taken shape between the USSR and the USA by the beginning of the 1970s made it harder for Washington to use military force as an instrument of its foreign policy. Meanwhile, in the 1970s changes continued to accumulate in the world as a result of the further strengthening of the forces of peace and progress and the successes of the national liberation movement.

These changes were historically inevitable and in Washington they were assessed as setbacks for US imperialism. Reactionary imperialist quarters saw the reason for their political failures in the decline of the role played by military strength in the foreign policy of the state, in the weakening of the USA's might.

Military-strategic parity, which played a positive role in the 1970s, was regarded by these quarters as the factor eroding the foundations of United States foreign policy. On the pretext of eliminating the factors hindering the attainment of US imperialism's foreign political objectives the aim was set of breaking this parity, achieving strategic superiority, and using it for political purposes.

Above all, it was their intention to develop such systems that would admit the "acceptable" for the USA use of its nuclear-missile capability, of the "new military strength" created as a result of the scientific and technological revolution. This ushered in a new stage of the strategic arms race that had some distinctive features, and first and foremost the intensification of the qualitative aspect.

The arms race of the past likewise had a qualitative aspect. Why has this aspect been getting such considerable attention in recent years?

The desire to improve the quality of armaments manifested itself in the USA immediately after World War II ended, but it was only in the latter half of the 1960s that the race for quality began to be of decisive significance.

In the 1960s the technological base was laid for a new spiral of the arms race, which began in the 1970s and is continuing to this day. New ideas were advanced for speeding up the "technological" arms race.

Mention must also be made of the qualitative changes of the past decade:

- the creation of a new generation of hard-fuel ballistic missiles with two important specifications—rapid preparation for launching and heightened accuracy;

- the development of highly accurate cruise missiles of all types of basing;

- the appearance of fundamentally new non-nuclear armaments with a destruction yield between that of nuclear and non-nuclear armaments;

- the development and testing of a space Shuttle;

- the appearance of the possibility of putting laser weapons into circumterrestrial orbit.

Further, there are now new areas of armaments development that are regarded by imperialist quarters as promising from the standpoint of creating new means of warfare capable of strongly influencing or even changing the methods of warfare.

What weapon systems were central to the US re-armament programmes in the 1970s?

Within a short span of time the MIRVing of intercontinental ballistic missiles allowed the USA sharply to increase the number of its nuclear warheads. Together with the enhanced accuracy of warheads, this opened up the potential for destroying relatively small and well-fortified targets such as, for example, ICBM silos. Moreover, the availability of large numbers of nuclear warheads gave the USA the possibility of "covering" one and the same target with several warheads, thereby increasing hit probability from 60 to 95 per cent. As early as two years after its MIRV

tests in 1968 the USA started the production of such warheads.

The USA continued its rapid MIRVing of ICBMs and SLBMs in subsequent years. For example, in the period from mid-1971 to mid-1976 the number of Minuteman-3 missiles increased from 200 to 550, while the number of warheads—from 600 to 1,650, i.e., almost three times.

During the same period the number of strategic nuclear warheads on US submarines increased from 1,232 to 5,120 or more than 400 per cent.

Special hopes were placed on the B-1 strategic bombers, 244 of which were to be commissioned. These were to combine the range and payload of the B-52 with the relative invulnerability of the B-3.

What motivations were presented by Washington to justify its rapid build-up of the USA's strategic potential?

In the first place it was maintained that the missile-MIRVing programme was adopted in response to the rapid build-up of the Soviet ICBMs, SLBMs, and anti-missile systems. One particularly vocal argument was that by the mid-1970s the USSR had stockpiled more nuclear warhead delivery vehicles than the USA and that these warheads were more “powerful” than those on US missiles. Lastly, it was contended that the MIRV programme was a “bargaining chip” for future Soviet-US talks on limiting strategic armaments.

The reason for all the talk about threats and dangers was to justify the striving to create a potential that would enable the US imperialism to engage in nuclear blackmail with impunity and, if an armed conflict broke out, to “win” a nuclear war. The actual motivation for MIRVing US strategic missiles was to build up a “counter-force capability”.

Further, the US military and political leaders believed that since the USA had been the first to begin MIRVing its missiles it would move far into the lead. This feeling influenced the evaluation of the nation's strategic strength. In the 1960s the basic indicator was the number of missile carriers, but at the beginning of the 1970s its place was taken by the number of warheads as well as the “counter-force megatonnage”, which also depended on the accuracy of the nuclear warhead.

Is there any truth in imperialist propaganda's assertion that the USSR used the change in the USA's strategic build-up to take the lead in the number of warhead carriers and in warhead yield?

None at all. Here we have another instance of fact juggling. Let us take a look at the actual situation.

Long before the mid-1970s the Pentagon steered a course towards equipping its strategic forces with relatively low-yield nuclear warheads. The reason for this was that to MIRV missiles it was necessary to reduce the size and, as a consequence, the yield of the warhead. Moreover, the view that less powerful and relatively more effective warheads were desirable prevailed in US military circles. The American scientist J. Cox calculated, for example, the relative effectiveness of one 10-megaton warhead and ten 50-kiloton warheads (roughly the equivalent of the yield of the Poseidon SLBMs of the 1970s):

*Comparison of the Effectiveness of Nuclear
Strikes of Varying Yields
(number of destroyed targets)*

Target	10-megaton warhead	Or 10 50-kiloton warheads
Aerodrome	1	10 (ten times more effective)
Strongly fortified ICBM silos	1	1.2 or 1.7
City with a population of 100,000	1	3.5
City with a population of 500,000	1	0.7
City with a population of 2,000,000	0,6	0.6

This table shows that although the cumulative yield of 10 warheads is much less than that of a ten-megaton warhead, they are much more effective. For instance, according to estimates by American academics, given the corresponding accuracy one 170-kiloton warhead on a Minuteman-3 ICBM is in no way less effective than a 20-megaton warhead, whose yield is 120 times greater, while four megaton warheads, provided, of course, that they have the corresponding accuracy, are equal to a 16-megaton nuclear warhead.

The above explains why the Pentagon took the course of increasing the accuracy of warheads in the calculation of

making its strategic forces more "convincing" as a "deterrent" and more "flexible" in use in the event of a political crisis or a military conflict. Washington saw the foundation of "flexibility" in the availability of a capability for fighting a "limited" nuclear war. Here the reasoning followed the canons of formal logic: enhanced accuracy would permit using smaller warheads (see table below); the miniaturisation of warheads would make it possible to increase their number; the conditions were thus created for selecting smaller and multiple targets. War was turned from a single destroying strike into a sort of bout in which the boxers could exchange a series of blows.

*Correlation Between Warhead Yield for the
Destruction of a Target and Warhead Accuracy*

Warhead yield in megatons	0.017	1.0	5.0	20.0
Required accuracy (magnitude of circular error probable in miles)	0.065	0.12	0.25	0.33

Hence, it follows that a relatively small increase in accuracy leads to a more substantial decrease of the yield needed to destroy a selected target. In Washington they felt that this would create the possibility of approaching the strategy of a "limited" nuclear war. Edward Luttwak estimated that US missiles had the following accuracy (in miles):

ICBMs	
Minuteman-2	—0.3
Minuteman-3	—0.2
Titan-2	—0.5
SLBMs	
Polaris A-3	—0.7
Poseidon C-3	—0.3

Naturally, the yield of US nuclear warheads was determined at the time in accordance with the accuracy of targeting missiles.

Warhead yield	Carrier	Up to 50 Kilotons	50-200 Kt	201-999 Kt	1-4 Mgt	5-10 Mgt
Number of warheads	ICBM	0	1,650	0	450	54
	SLBM	4,960	0	160	0	0

The arming of US strategic forces with MIRVs, which in the first half of the 1970s led to a rapid growth of the

number of warheads, had its limits. The time came when the strategic capability reached a "satiation" point, i.e., a sort of "ceiling," above which the further stockpiling of nuclear warheads was not justified by military considerations.

Why is the USA continuing to stockpile warheads?

The answer to this question does not lie in the context of weapons systems. It is rather political and linked to the fact that while sensing the moral bankruptcy of their social system the US ruling circles cannot find another way out of the arms race. Those who are today piloting the US ship of state are not guided by any battle of ideas and cultures, or by a desire to create better conditions of life for people. They are thinking in terms of crude military strength. In strength and strength alone do they see the means of improving US imperialism's international positions.

For that reason considerations about how to enhance the effectiveness of the use of military strength as a means of exercising influence in international affairs were the predominant element guiding the choice of the character of the strategic forces build-up.

There was one more consideration—the striving to debilitate the Soviet Union economically. Enhanced accuracy of the delivery vehicles of nuclear warheads made it imperative for the other side to take counter-measures to protect the invulnerability of its strategic forces. This meant the appearance of yet another area of military rivalry between states possessing a strategic nuclear capability. Western experts have estimated that in the 1970s the expenses on reinforcing ICBM silos were three times greater than the expenses on manufacturing missile carriers and warheads.

Did the replacement of the doctrine proclaimed in the 1970s signify a modification of US strategy or was it simply declarative?

It is well known that every American political personality, including the President, wants to perpetuate himself in "history" with some eye-catching idea, doctrine, or theory. This has become a sort of disease among the top representatives of US imperialism.

There was no change in military strategy. As before, it remained based on the first use of nuclear weapons by the USA. Nor was there a "re-targeting" of the US nuclear forces, for actually nobody knows exactly what these missiles are targeted on. The political gestures may be explained by a desire to make the nuclear threat more convincing and to confuse the other side and, with it, all the peoples of the world.

All unprejudiced historians note that in the 1970s there was no real necessity for escalating the arms race. In the political sphere, between the USSR and the USA, there was a lowering of the level of confrontation. An approximate parity was maintained in the military-strategic sphere.

However, as we now can see, it was this parity that did not suit the US ruling circles. They steered a course towards shattering detente, violating international agreements, torpedoing the SALT negotiations and, in the final count, direct military and political confrontation with the USSR.

What was the motivation of Washington for going over from cooperation to intensified confrontation?

In 1976 President Gerald Ford instructed the CIA and "independent" researchers (i.e., those not in government service) to ascertain the aims of Soviet strategic construction. These groups of researchers, known as Team A and Team B, had their reports ready towards the close of the same year. As the administration wanted, these reports noted that in the immediate future—the "independent" researchers named the year 1980 while those of the CIA gave it as the year 1985—the USA would fall behind the Soviet Union in the capability for fighting a nuclear war. Both groups believed that the main reasons for this were: a) the successful MIRVing of Soviet missiles and b) the enhanced accuracy of Soviet missiles. Acknowledgement of these two factors was very significant in the sense that it showed that the USA had not moved into the lead in the strategic arms race it had itself started.

Having failed in its own calculations, Washington followed the usual pattern of organising a vocal propaganda campaign deliberately focussed on the "survivability" of the US strategic forces. The objective of this campaign was once more to frighten the American people and to justify

in their eyes the start of a new spiral of the strategic arms race.

Washington felt that the race for quality was most suitable for achieving superiority. However, the attempts to attain strategic superiority in this way once again took the US politicians and scientists into an impasse. This is not surprising if one bears in mind that in our day nuclear weapons dialectically prevent imperialist policy from attaining its extreme objectives. Washington's aspiration to be the sole arbiter of world problems is in glaring conflict with the principle of strategic equilibrium between the USSR and the USA, and the Soviet Union's determination not to permit this equilibrium to be broken. What the world needs is not confrontation, not the growth of the confrontation into an armed conflict, but a calm and intelligent elucidation of what can serve as solid foundations for lasting peace.

Chapter 4

GAMBLING ON THE ARMS RACE ONCE AGAIN

In the USA one hears the charge that the Carter administration "ignored" the needs of the nation's defence. Is the assertion true that at the close of the 1970s there was no escalation of the arms race in the USA?

This is a typical invention of imperialist propaganda. The cold facts are that the programme for a strategic build-up had been drawn up long before the Carter administration took over the White House in 1977. Underlying that programme is the idea that the USA should acquire a "disarming" first-strike capability, and the practical expression of the programme was the escalated build-up of the US strategic strength, its first step being the transfer of the arms race to outer space.

The militarisation of outer space was centred around the Shuttle programme, which was given special priority towards the end of the 1970s.

Shuttle Programme

Fiscal year	Expenditures (in \$ at 1971 prices)	Changes in funding
1973	5,150 million	—
1974	5,150 million	—
1975	5,200 million	+50 million
1976	— » —	—
1977	5,220 million	+20 million
1978	— » —	—
1979	5,430 million	+210 million
1980 (added)	5,900-6,000 million	+250-300 million

This table indicates that in 1979 and 1980 more than \$200 million was allocated annually in addition to the funds earmarked earlier in order to speed up the implementation of this programme. The programme's proponents hurried to achieve a military-technological breakthrough that would enable US imperialism to use outer space for mili-

tary-political aims. The large allocations for the Shuttle programme combined with an overall acceleration of research aimed at developing new weapons systems.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the US administration allotted huge sums of money for R&D in the field of strategic weapons systems. This mostly involved the development of new types and systems (ICBM, MX, and the Trident-1 and Trident-2 systems) and also the modernisation of the B-52 strategic bomber by fitting it with cruise missiles and advanced electronic equipment. All the systems that were being developed met the requirements made of first-strike weapons.

By the close of the 1970s the Pentagon had completed, in the main, the modernisation of its strategic weapons started at the beginning of the decade. While maintaining on the same level its efforts to increase the effectiveness of nuclear warheads, the US Defence Department prepared to begin a new spiral of the arms race aimed at developing technology that would in the 1980s put the USA in a position to conduct a fundamental rearmament of its strategic forces.

In 1980 the expenditures on research and development under the Defence Department's budget went up to \$13.5 billion, and it was planned that in 1985 these expenditures would rise to \$32 billion. By and large, it is felt that at least 45 per cent of the money allocated for research and development is spent on military requirements.

It is the US administration's declared objective to acquire the capability to make a "disarming" strike. How far has the USA advanced in creating such a capability?

We have already noted that the efforts to improve missile accuracy have yielded tangible results. It is claimed, for instance, that Trident-2 missiles can hit small strongly fortified targets located a great distance away. Counting on this capability, the USA has started developing methods of using various types of nuclear weapons in combat. There has been a significant increase in expenditures on research into the consequences of the use of nuclear weapons.

The growth of allocations for the study of the effects of a nuclear explosion on the armaments systems of a prob-

able enemy is indicative. US researchers are particularly interested in the vulnerability of the enemy's strategic and tactical systems and of the electronic equipment used by him.

Since the close of the 1970s the US government has been building up the material resources for a "limited" nuclear war. Further, a campaign was started to prepare the American people and public opinion psychologically for the possibility of a nuclear war. It was contended, for instance, that in itself the development of "counter-force capabilities" was making it possible to reappraise strategic concepts in the direction of greater "flexibility" in the use of armaments.

The creation of a "counter-force" capability is in principle unrealistic. As was stressed at a press conference of Soviet commanding officers, held in Moscow on December 5, 1983, there can only be one answer here. It is negative, whichever way you look. It is precluded in today's conditions because the sides have large nuclear weapons stockpiles, diverse basing systems, and ramified and multiple-duplicated control systems. Retaliation will follow inexorably.

Nonetheless, US imperialism's strategists are clinging to the idea that a nuclear war is winnable.

To what extent is this linked to the efforts to build up a new US strategic capability?

There is a direct dependence between the operational capabilities of armaments and the methods of using them. In a report to the US Congress on the military budget for 1982 the Defence Secretary Harold Brown noted that the Pentagon had fundamentally reappraised US strategic policy. Judging by Brown's remarks and the information leaked to the US press, the reappraisal followed the line of ensuring a "counter-force" capability that could be turned into a "disarming" strike capability.

It must be noted that thinking in terms of a limited nuclear war extends the framework of the arms race without altering the substance of the USA's military doctrine. It envisages a reappraisal of the strategic equilibrium in favour of the USA globally and on a regional level.

After Carter announced in his presidential directive No. 59 that the USA would seek strategic superiority theoretical work was given a practical dimension.

What new elements have been introduced into the arms race in the 1980s?

Besides continuing the efforts of the preceding administrations, the present US government dramatically escalated the arms race. The attainment of overall military and technological superiority over the Soviet Union was openly proclaimed in the Republican Party's election platform in July 1980.

The Republican administration's military policy acquired tangible outlines towards the close of 1981. The only "merit" of that policy was its cynicism. The White House bluntly declared that it wanted strategic superiority. Unlike preceding administrations, the present one had no recourse to camouflaging rhetoric about "maintaining the potential for guaranteed destruction". In a speech delivered at the United States Military Academy at West Point on May 27, 1981, President Reagan said: "The argument, if there is any, will be over which weapons, not whether we should foresake weaponry for treaties and agreements." US militarism acts openly, without a visor.

What are the salient characteristics of the military programme proclaimed by the US administration?

A new burst of the strategic arms race was announced on October 2, 1981. The objective of the programme proclaimed on that day was to create the material basis for a "counter-force" capability by the mid-1980s.

The Republican administration programmed the growth of military allocations five years in advance. In fiscal 1983 they increased by 13.2 per cent and added up (with account of the contribution from other departments) to \$263 billion. Altogether, it was planned to spend over \$1,800 billion on military requirements within a five-year period. An idea of the accent that is made in this programme on strategic armaments is given by the following table:

The Reagan Strategic Programme

	Cost of programmes with allowance for inflation (in \$ billion)
1. <i>Strategic Air Force:</i>	78
— production of 100 B-1 bombers — development of the new Stealth strategic bomber — production and deployment of 3,000 air-based cruise missiles on modernised B-52 and B-1 bombers	
2. <i>Sea-based strategic forces:</i>	51
— the building of Trident submarines (one submarine per year) — development of Trident-2 SLBMs — deployment of several hundred cruise missiles on submarines	
3. <i>Land-based strategic forces:</i>	42
— production of 100 MX ICBMs and the deployment of 50 of them in Minuteman ICBM silos — acceleration of the development of ways of basing MX ICBMs	
4. <i>Control and communication systems:</i>	22
— improvement of the existing systems of command, control, and communication	
5. <i>Strategic defence:</i>	29
— improved air surveillance — development of a rapid-action anti-satellite system — continued research with the purpose of creating an anti-missile defence system — development of civilian defence programmes	

The Reagan administration is thus allocating \$222 billion for strategic armaments. But this is an official statistic. Some experts have estimated that in order to carry out all the military programmes blue-printed by the Reagan administration another \$750 billion will have to be spent by 1987, in other words, the total military expenditures for the five-year period may rise to \$2,430 billion.

What amendments have been introduced into the USA's military strategy in the 1980s in the light of the Republican administration's above-mentioned programmes?

Neither the White House nor the Pentagon is making a secret of the fact that the USA is engaged in all-out preparations for a nuclear war and introducing relevant amendments into the USA's strategic plans. Top-ranking political leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries have spoken of the danger emanating from the actions of US imperialism. The new arms build-up programmes of the USA and some of its allies are inseparable from the escalation of the strategic concepts and doctrines, such as those of the "disarming nuclear first strike", "limited nuclear war", "protracted nuclear conflict", and others.

These aggressive doctrines, which are shattering the security of the world, are based on the illusion that the first use of nuclear weapons can bring victory in a nuclear war. The Soviet leaders have repeatedly noted the speciousness of assertions of this kind, of their deliberately fraudulent slant.

In studying the trends of the arms race it is necessary, of course, to take the development of military science and technology into account. However, exponents of "technological determinism" have moved into the forefront in the West in recent years. They are trying to prove that politics is increasingly submitting to the logic and laws of the development of military technology and is predicated on the advantages that this technology can give.

Actually, the opposite is the case. The appearance of new types and systems of weapons is determined by the political contract of the ruling class and the groups in power, by the terms that are made beforehand by political leaders, by the funds that are appropriated for these purposes and, lastly, by the *political* decisions adopted at the summit.

The development of each new type of weapon goes through *several stages*, at each of which the government retains its control over the adoption of decisions on the weapon's further development. These stages are the following. First, a general idea is arrived at. In our day only 5 per cent of scientific ideas are translated into reality. After it is accepted the idea goes through the stages of scientific

scrutiny, the construction of experimental models, and the start of mass production. Its life continues until this type of weapon is removed from the arsenal.

NATO leaders are justifying and vindicating their military programmes with arguments about "lagging" behind the USSR. Are these arguments credible?

The USA and its allies now have colossal stockpiles of nuclear weapons. The following tables give some idea of the size of these stockpiles:

*US Strategic Capability (mid-1981) **

Type	Number of deployed nuclear delivery vehicles	Number of warheads per carrier	Total number of warheads on a given type of weapon	Yield of nuclear warhead (s) per carrier (mgt)	Yield of all nuclear warheads of the given type (mgt)	Estimated accuracy (m)
<i>MIRVed weapons systems</i>						
Minuteman-3	450	3	1,350	0.51	230	300
Minuteman-3 with MK12A warheads	100	3	300	1.05	105	200
Poseidon C-3	320	10	3,200	0.4	128	500
		(average)				
Trident C-4	200	8	1,600	0.8	160	500
<i>Weapons systems with warhead clusters</i>						
B-52 (carrying SRAM missiles and bombs)	150	12	1,800	5.6	840	180
B-52 (only bombs)	190	4	760	4.0	760	180
		(maximum payload up to 11 bombs of 1 mgt yield)				
Titan-2	53	1	53	9.0	477	1,300
Minuteman-2	450	1	450	1.5	657	400
Polaris A-3	80	3	240	0.6	58	900
Total	1,993		9,753		3,423	

* F. Barnaby, "Nuclear Conflict: Global Prospect?" In: *The Nuclear Arms Race*, London, 1982, pp. 8-11.

The USA's nuclear capability is in fact much larger. Barnaby understates the number of SLBMs and strategic aircraft available to the USA.

British and French Strategic Nuclear Forces

Weapon type	When first deployed	Maximum range (km)	Number of war-heads	War-head yield	Total number of deployed systems
<i>France</i>					
Medium-range ballistic missile-3	1971	3,000	1	15 kt	18
M-20 sea-based ballistic missile	1977	3,000	1	1 mgt	80
Mirage 4-A bomber	1964	3,000	1		44
<i>Britain</i>					
Polaris A-3 sea-based ballistic missile	1967	4,600	3	200 kt	64

Every person who has not lost the ability to think will inevitably find that the USA and NATO have more weapons than is needed or can be justified, without coming into conflict with elementary logic. However, driven by nuclear insanity, Washington is not content with the mountains of weapons it has already piled up and demands more, speeding up, in particular, the deployment of MX missiles.

What is the threat in the deployment of new MX intercontinental ballistic missiles decided upon by the White House?

This question is sometimes put differently: What, properly speaking, does the deployment of MX missiles change in the existing strategic situation? The USA and the USSR now have more than 2,000 strategic nuclear warhead carriers.

This is an invalid question if only because the *effectiveness* of strategic armaments is determined not only and not so much by the number of delivery vehicles as by their quality. The sense of deploying MX missiles lies precisely in raising quality indicators to a higher level.

Comparative Specifications of Minuteman-3 and MX Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles

System	Minuteman-3	MX
Accuracy (circular error probable)	200 m	90 m
Number of warheads	3	10
Yield of one warhead (kg)	335 kg	over 600 kg

The MX is thus more than twice as accurate as the former US ICBMs. It carries over three times more warheads than the Minuteman-3, and the yield of each warhead is almost twice that of the warhead on the "old" missile. The MX missiles thus significantly increase the USA's strategic arsenal.

The Pentagon believes that the *qualitative* changes in the US land-based systems can help to attain *new military-strategic objectives*.

The deployment of MX ICBMs creates a *direct* threat to international peace and security. It means that in the 1980s the USA will have a minimum of 8,000 "disarming" nuclear first-strike warheads. This is quite obviously a striving to increase to the utmost the capability of the USA's strategic forces to destroy strongly defended objectives.

By deploying MX missiles Washington is undercutting the foundations for the strategic arms limitation talks and introducing a destabilising element into the military-strategic equilibrium.

Another element of the US strategic systems that has the special favour of the White House and the Pentagon is the fleet of nuclear-powered submarines. What are the aims of this fleet's radical reconstruction?

First and foremost, to increase the manoeuvrability and power of the nuclear strategic forces deployed in the World Ocean. The current programmes include:

(a) re-equipment of Poseidon class submarines with Trident-1 (C-4) missiles;

(b) deployment of a qualitatively new submarine fleet consisting of Ohio-class submarines and Trident-2 (D-5) SLBMs. The first submarine of this class, fitted with C-4 missiles, was turned over to the US Navy in September 1982. Between 16 and 25 such submarines are to be built, and funds have already been allocated for nine. Each submarine will carry 24 SLBMs, which will have a total of 192 nuclear warheads. The production of D-5 missiles was started in fiscal 1984 and the first of them will be deployed in 1989.

Simultaneously, US submarines have been getting cruise missiles with nuclear warheads since 1984. This signifies the creation of a new, formerly non-existent strategic

capability. It is intended that by 1989 there will be 3,995 cruise missiles with nuclear and conventional warheads on the submarines and surface vessels of the US Navy.

But this does not seem to satiate the appetites of the American atomaniacs. The Pentagon and its patrons are not overlooking the strategic air force that until the 1960s enjoyed special privileges in the American military machine. There is now insistent talk about modernising existing and deploying new types of strategic aircraft. What are the calculations linked to this?

Provision is being made to equip strategic bombers with 3,000 cruise missiles carrying nuclear warheads. Washington has set the objective to increase the US strategic arsenal to at least 6,505 cruise missiles by 1989. From the standpoint of creating a "counter-force" capability the significance of this programme is very great. It must be borne in mind that, according to some quarters, at a later date Washington is planning to deploy up to 13,000 cruise missiles (40 per cent carrying nuclear warheads) and that these missiles are to be stationed along the frontiers of the Soviet Union. It is believed in Washington that this will enable the USA to launch massive strikes at strategic, political, and military objectives in the Soviet Union.

The building of 100 B-1B strategic bombers was planned for the mid-1980s. This aircraft, based on the B-1 (whose flight tests were completed in the spring of 1981), differs from the preceding model in that it has a greater payload capacity, more sophisticated electronic equipment, and the ability to carry cruise missiles. The entire lot of B-1B aircraft is to be in service by 1988.

What lies behind the plans of the US government to perfect its systems of command, control, and communication?

An important element of the steps being taken by the US government is to develop a new system of detection, early warning, operational control, and communication, in other words, a system to enable it to fight a protracted

nuclear war. It is estimated that this system will cost \$26 billion.

Washington is planning to introduce command posts on E-48 aircraft, modernise the communication systems, and develop a system of control and command that would function for a long time after any nuclear strike. The new communication system is to allow the US President to direct a "protracted nuclear war". This presupposes, in particular, that there will be constant contact with the crews of B-1 bombers.

A major role in the new system is to be played by military communication satellites. Some of them would be launched into circumterrestrial orbits immediately upon the receipt of the relevant order. A new type of satellite is being developed for higher orbits than those used currently. It has been decided to create a system of radio communication with submarines located at great distances away from the USA and at great depths.

It is not hard to see that all these programmes are aimed at creating the conditions for fighting a nuclear war regardless of the consequences to other countries and the entire human race.

What may the cumulative strategic US nuclear arsenal be like by the early 1990s?

It is, of course, hard to say how the fulfilment of the above-mentioned US armaments programmes will proceed. But it is clear that by the early 1990s a fundamental restructuring will take place in the USA of all the components of its strategic capability. There will be a steep growth of the number of nuclear warheads and a considerable increase of the yield and accuracy of these warheads (see table below).

Washington is hoping that the accelerated build-up of strategic strength will allow it to pursue a more "flexible" nuclear policy and give it broader possibilities for engaging in nuclear blackmail. All the indications are that there are no bounds to US imperialism's expansionist ambitions. It wants to control every part of the globe that can yield profits. The monopolies need foreign oil, uranium, and non-ferrous metals, and the Middle East, Africa, and the Indian Ocean are proclaimed as spheres of US "vital interests".

*US Nuclear Strategic Capability * (Estimate for 1990)*

Weapon system	Number of deployed delivery vehicles	Number of warheads per carrier	Present total number of warheads	Yield of nuclear warhead(s) per carrier (mgt)	Yield of all nuclear warheads of the given type (mgt)	Estimated accuracy (m)
MX ICBM	100	10	1,000	6	600	90
Trident-1 SLBM	504	8	4,032	0.8	793	250
Trident-2 and other SLBMs	48	14	672	2.1	1,008	90
Air-launched strategic cruise missiles (ALCM-B)						
B-1B	100	30	3,000	0.2	less than 600	150
B-52G	172	20	3,440	0.2	688	150
B-52H	96	20	1,920	0.2	384	150
FB-111	60	6	360	0.2	72	150
Sea-based strategic cruise missiles	several hundred	1	several hundred	temporarily 0.2		150-200
Minuteman-3 (MK-12A)	536	3	1,608	1	1,608	180
Minuteman-2	450	1	450	1.2	540	400
Poseidon C-3	336	10-14	3,360	0.4	134	under 500
<hr/>						
Total:	over 2,500	—	20,000-25,000			

* Sources: *Whence the Threat to Peace*, Moscow, 1982; Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary of Defence, *Annual Report to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1983*, Washington, 1982; and others.

The USA's insatiable appetite is exemplified by the setting up of regional commands (including a command for outer space) to ensure speedy direction of combat operations in every region thought by the Pentagon strategists as a likely theatre of hostilities. The US strategic arsenal is being adjusted to these theatres.

Practically the entire strategic nuclear arsenal is to be turned into a "disarming" nuclear first-strike capability.

On the whole, one gets the impression that the US policy of expanding its military strength is a deliberate line towards aggravating the risk of a nuclear war by shattering the military-strategic equilibrium in the world and by increasing international tension.

The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist

community are countering the policies of the USA and NATO with the only reasonable alternative, namely, with a policy of bridling the arms race and altering the political climate in the direction of international cooperation.

Complicated as the present international situation is, it is possible to preserve peace. It is the belief of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Council that the "forces of peace are more powerful than the forces of war. Everything depends on their cohesion and the purposefulness of their actions".

What distinguishes the present stage of the USA's militarisation of outer space and what consequences does this policy hold out for the human race?

Outer space is gaining the potential significance of a new theatre of hostilities and a new sphere to which the arms race may spread. This objective feature of the new stage of space exploration bears a clear-cut imprint of the USA's policy of militarising outer space.

In the West they are doing their best to deny that this is the case. It is argued that "nothing fundamentally new" is taking place in the use of outer space for military purposes, that it had "served military purposes" before. They believe that silence about the qualitative distinction of the development of outer space by the militarists from the former use of this space for military purposes will play a major role in masking the actual dimensions of militarisation.

Washington began its preparations for a new stage in the military use of outer space practically at the outset of space exploration and conducted these preparations seriously. According to statistics of the US Congress, about 60 per cent of all the space launchings were for the Pentagon. In the course of 20 years the USA spent \$50 billion on military programmes in outer space. Outlays of this magnitude speak for themselves.

Humankind's interests make it imperative to prevent the arms race from spreading to outer space, to preclude the industrial utilisation of outer space for military purposes. Renunciation of any further militarisation of outer space must become a norm of relations between the leading nuclear powers.

In Washington they are thinking and acting in different terms. They are again hoping to develop an "ultimate" weapon that would give them political and military control of the peoples of the whole world and of circumterrestrial space. On their lips these are not empty words. Military-space systems that will be operational in and from outer space within the next five years are currently at various stages of development. In accordance with militarist plans they are building up material resources, developing the technology of future types of weapons, working out the "space" strategy of using these weapons, and setting up specialised military commands to coordinate the operations of the various services of the US Armed Forces in the utilisation of outer space for military purposes. According to a secret document headed FY 1984-1988 Defense Guidance, the existence of which was "leaked" to the US press, the USA intends to fight a war effectively from outer space. A component of the US strategy of militarising outer space is said to be the renunciation of any negotiations whatsoever. The same document declares that the USA will not sign treaties preventing it from developing space-based weapons systems and adding a new aspect to its military capability. Washington has complied rigidly with this guideline. Not only has the present administration not signed a single arms limitation agreement with the USSR, it has refused to ratify and comply in good faith with the treaties already signed.

To sum up, the conclusion may be drawn that in order to achieve military superiority Washington will endeavour to carry out the following tasks aimed at the massive militarisation of outer space:

- use space vehicles to significantly boost the effectiveness of conducting traditional military operations with all types of weapons—nuclear and non-nuclear;

- create a system of fighting a war in outer space;

- deploy weapons systems for the conduct of hostilities from outer space;

- build up a highly effective space system for the anti-missile defence of the USA.

Plans for the attainment of military superiority *rule out the very possibility of concluding effective arms limitation agreements*. Such agreements must be equitable and they must prevent any prejudice to the security of the signatories. This is exactly what Washington does not want

Special note must be made of the fact that these calculations are being made in an extremely tense international situation, in which spokesmen of the US ruling circles have made it public that a policy of direct confrontation with the USSR has been decided upon and proclaimed that a "crusade" has been started against socialism. In this context it must be pointed out that the arms race in outer space *is part of the overall programme for the rearming of the USA and is, perhaps, the most characteristic feature of the new stage of the qualitative arms race.*

Nor should one overlook the fact that the arms race in outer space is being unleashed to the accompaniment of statements by US top political and military leaders about *it being possible to fight a "limited" nuclear war against the USSR and other socialist countries with the use of the entire range of weapons of mass destruction.* Although these voices grew somewhat muted during the presidential elections and there was talk about the USA's "peaceful intentions" and its desire for "understanding" with the USSR, this rhetoric could fool nobody. The policy of a country is judged not by what it says but by what it does.

The US military-industrial complex is starting a new phase of the arms race in outer space on the technological basis *already prepared by research and development back in the 1970s. In this way the USA is speedily developing new types and systems of weapons.*

Simultaneously the United States' military-strategic guidelines are giving another impetus to the development of improved and fundamentally new (in technological terms) means of warfare in and from outer space.

It is hard and perhaps not necessary to list all the directions of the space arms race started by the USA, especially all the space militarisation programmes currently at various stages of development. It is important to note, however, that an analysis of Pentagon documents and of statements by US military and political leaders makes it clear that there is a *comprehensive plan for attaining military-strategic superiority with the aid of weapons systems operating in and from outer space.* This brings us to the conclusion that the USA has seriously started the build-up of material resources for conducting military operations in and from outer space.

What lies behind the US government's decision to single out as an independent direction the development and creation of an anti-missile defence system and the improvement of the existing air defence system?

What makes this question particularly important is that it has a connection to the possibility that US imperialism will scrap the 1972 USSR-USA treaty on the limitation of ABM systems, which is a treaty of unlimited duration.

The US ruling circles regard space orbital stations with laser weapons on board as a promising anti-missile system. One of the concepts of the use of laser weapons now being widely discussed is the creation in outer space of a constellation of platforms for laser weapons that can provide a dependable anti-aircraft and anti-missile defence for the USA.

Pentagon experts believe that it is possible to develop a laser weapon that will destroy the protective shell of a missile. A new area of the arms race is being opened under the influence of these views.

US imperialism sees outer space as a future theatre of hostilities. The document FY 1984-1988 Defense Guidance, which reflects the view of the Pentagon and the National Security Council on specific directions of military policy for the next five years and the overall tendency of its development over the next ten years, speaks of the USA's preparations for a war in outer space. This prompts a reply to the question *why the USA is refusing to come to any understanding on limiting the military build-up in outer space.*

A Space Command to coordinate US activities in outer space was set up on September 1, 1982 at the NORAD (North American Air Defense Command) base in Colorado Springs. A sort of "space interceptor-fighter" is being developed as an addition to the already operating Shuttle-type spaceships. Under a contract with the US Air Force the Boeing Corporation is building eight "space tugs" capable of towing satellites weighing up to two and a half tons into orbit at an altitude of more than 22,000 miles. This will greatly boost the capabilities of the Shuttle operating at 600 miles above the earth.

The Reagan policy is characterised chiefly by its striving

to use every possibility for maximising the arms race. Reagan is prepared to direct all the resources available to the USA into the build-up of armaments systems. For the military-industrial complex the arms race on the earth is no longer enough; it would like to extend it into outer space where there are no limits. The Pentagon is pinning considerable hopes on developing orbiting military stations, i.e., military bases, equipped with laser and beam weapons. Work on projects of this kind has been proceeding in the USA for several decades. In the 1980s they were included in the USA's operational military-technical programmes. The appropriations for the development of laser weapons amounted to \$200 million in 1980, while in fiscal 1981 these were doubled. US business, both private and state-monopoly, has become accustomed to investing money in tangible projects. Such today are promising varieties of space weapons. For that reason in Washington they are not stinting funds for the militarisation of outer space.

What are the cardinal objectives of Reagan's policy of militarising outer space?

In October 1983 an inter-departmental group appointed by President Reagan submitted to the White House a recommendation to speed up the implementation of a five-year programme of preparations for war in and from outer space. This group was headed by the US Defense Secretary and the US President's Assistant for National Security Affairs.

About 40 leading American scientists specially chosen by the Pentagon from among the personnel of its laboratories, from research units of the Department of Energy, and from armaments corporations were enlisted into the compilation of the group's report. The fact that so many of these scientists are linked to the most influential military-industrial corporations prompts the reflection that the US military-industrial complex intends to turn outer space into an object of long-term expansion of its capital.

The administration in Washington is preparing for endorsement a wide-ranging programme for a composite anti-missile defence system consisting of both land-based and space-based missiles.

It is intended to spend up to \$27 billion for these purposes in the next five years. Altogether, up to the end of

this century, the space militarisation programmes are going to cost the American tax-payers \$95 billion.

According to the CBS, there already are about 100 US military satellites in orbit around the earth, and their number is constantly increasing. The US Air Force is openly speaking of achieving "superiority in space" and of the need for weapons "to destroy the enemy's space systems". In speaking of the plans of the US military, the CBS commentators are saying that circumterrestrial space is now becoming a theatre of hostilities.

The defence directives for 1985-1989 provide for using outer space to support the operations of American land nuclear and conventional forces.

A large proportion of funds is channelled for a basic improvement of monitoring, communication, and targeting systems. The outwardly scientific but, in fact, politically provocative objective has been set of ensuring the simultaneous detection and monitoring of more than 1,000 missiles in the event of a Soviet retaliatory strike. These measures are designated in the long run for the deployment of an anti-missile defence system in outer space.

Huge amounts of money are being poured into the development of laser and beam weapons capable of destroying ballistic missiles out of space at great distances from the territory of the USA. Not a single technical possibility is overlooked.

However, more prosaic armaments are also kept within the field of vision. Large allocations are being made for the development of small high-velocity missiles to hit warheads that have already separated. Somewhat lesser sums are appropriated for the development of a communications system, for ensuring the survivability and programming of systems as a whole.

According to the designs of the US leadership, the planned comprehensive anti-missile defence system must consist of three belts of various armaments. The least definite is still the choice of the type of armament for the first defence belt, specifically for the destruction of ballistic missiles at distant approaches to US territory. American scientists are of the opinion that none of the proposed systems have attained the stage allowing for a final choice. According to Hans A. Bethe, the Nobel prize-winning physicist of Cornell University, atomic-pumped lasers are the only weapon for whose development there is scientific justification.

A system of long-range missile-interceptors is being considered for the second belt to destroy ballistic missiles outside the earth's atmosphere.

The third, last belt will probably consist of a series of short-range interceptor missiles capable of striking suddenly from a concealed shelter to destroy missiles within seconds of their appearance.

The government in Washington is counting heavily on systems capable of destroying enemy satellites. In the USA they have begun testing ASAT system on whose creation, according to estimates in the American press, it is planned to spend \$3,600 million.

A point to be noted is that the sum of technical means in the above-mentioned programme, proclaimed by Reagan in March 1983, contains nothing that can distinguish it fundamentally from the Pentagon's earlier plans. In the opinion of Richard DeLauer, Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, the basic recommendations in the plan harmonise well with what has been getting attention in the USA during the past 10-15 years.

How realistic are these plans of the Pentagon?

It is declared in Washington that the significance of the programme we are considering is mainly that it is based on an analysis, whose authors have not uncovered insuperable technological obstacles to the attainment of the aims outlined by Reagan. It is still far from a decision to go to war.

US officials admit that at present they do not know enough of any of the recommended anti-missile weapons to say which will be consigned to the scrapheap of stillborn armaments. However, they are saying openly that they intend to use even intermediate successful demonstration tests of individual systems as a means of intimidating the Soviet Union.

The leaders in Washington reject out of hand the possibility of utilising the recommendations made by eminent American and Soviet scientists at a conference held in the summer of 1983, for the joint development by the USSR and the USA of new anti-missile defence systems. Acceptance of recommendations of this kind would be a guarantee of a genuine desire for lasting peace, but the US leaders do not hide their hope of outstripping the USSR in the development of such systems.

Washington's space ambitions are making every sober-thinking person apprehensive. The "star wars" planned in the USA are a continuation of its global policy of threatening to use force against nations objectionable to Washington.

But this, like the line towards attaining military-strategic superiority, is a futile policy. The Soviet Union will not permit the balance of strength, including the equilibrium in outer space, to change in favour of the USA. In this lies the basic political miscalculation of the US ruling circles.

After Reagan's "star wars" speech leading scientists in many countries made statements that brought to light the absurdity of the US President's calculations. The gist of these statements is that it is unfeasible to develop a flawlessly dependable defence against modern ballistic missiles. It was declared that if even one per cent of the Soviet nuclear capability "slips through" the US space defence, this would have disastrous consequences for the USA. Academician Y. Velikhov, the Soviet physicist and expert on space vehicles, authoritatively says that it is quite absurd to think that the Soviet Union is unable to develop its own counter-system in response to any type of space weapon. Political leaders and scientists who have a sense of responsibility say that it is better to think in terms not of a "star war" but of peace on earth.

What is the Soviet Union doing to prevent the arms race from being projected into outer space?

The Soviet Union is a staunch proponent of the use of outer space exclusively to further peaceful cooperation. It has done much to safeguard outer space against militarisation, to prevent its conversion into a new arena of the arms race and a source for aggravating the international situation.

In 1958 the Soviet government submitted to the United Nations a proposal to ban the use of outer space for military purposes. Thanks to the USSR's tireless efforts it became possible to sign in 1963 a treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, and in 1967 a treaty on principles governing the activities of states in the exploration and use of outer space, including

the moon and other celestial bodies. However, these documents banned only the deployment of nuclear weapons in outer space. The US military interpret this to mean that any weapon may be stationed in space that does not come under the category of weapons of mass destruction.

On August 12, 1981, in order to prevent the arms race from spreading to outer space, the Soviet Union submitted to the UN a draft treaty to prohibit the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space. Among other things, the draft declares that the signatories undertake "not to place in orbit around the earth objects carrying weapons of any kind... or station such weapons ... in any other manner, including on reusable manned space vehicles". But this is evidently not to the liking of the US ruling circles.

Nevertheless, the Soviet leadership is not halting its efforts dictated by the striving to prevent outer space from becoming a battlefield and a source of a threat to peace in the world.

The USSR has time and again come forward with constructive and practical initiatives. Above all, these are a total ban on the testing and deployment of all space-based weapons for hitting targets on the ground, in the air, and in outer space; then an agreement to destroy existing anti-satellite systems and prohibit the development of new such systems; and, lastly, the Soviet unilateral commitment not to be the first to deploy any type of anti-satellite weapons in outer space. The USSR is prepared to close all channels of the arms race in outer space.

In a follow-up to these initiatives Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko sent a letter to Javier Pérez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the UN, with detailed proposals for putting on the agenda of the 38th UN General Assembly the question of concluding a treaty banning the use of force in and from outer space relative to the earth. The USSR has furthermore drawn up the draft of such a treaty.

Recently, on Soviet initiative the draft treaty on banning the use of force in and from outer space relative to the earth was circulated as a working document at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva (the present name of the Disarmament Committee). As *L'Humanité*, the newspaper of the French Communists, named it, this "treaty on an un-armed outer space" pursues the direct objective of preventing the militarisation of outer space, of averting the "crossing of the Rubicon" in the further exploration of outer space.

The Soviet Union is countering the aggressive plans of the US military establishment to militarise outer space with a consistent and constructive policy of preventing an arms race in that area. At a time when in Washington some quarters are urging the "transformation of outer space into a theatre of confrontation", Moscow is firmly and compellingly declaring: A norm of relations between nuclear powers must be to avoid spreading the nuclear arms race to new spheres, including outer space.

Chapter 5

THE USA AND THE ARMS RACE IN WESTERN EUROPE

What role is the USA assigning to Western Europe in its military and political plans?

The European continent is accorded a special place in the USA's military plans. On that continent the USA and NATO are counting heavily on intermediate-range nuclear missiles and, in parallel, modernising conventional armaments in order to tilt the military-strategic balance in their favour. US imperialism regards its West European NATO allies as hostages who can be sacrificed in an armed conflict. In recent years it was precisely in Europe that US reaction concentrated its efforts with the purpose of tearing detente up by the roots.

The US strategists' focus on Europe is motivated by the geopolitical and military-strategic role that US imperialism assigns to its European NATO allies as situated in the front line of the confrontation with socialism. Western Europe, said Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Under Secretary for Political Affairs, is the epicentre of the USA's global contest with the Soviet Union.

What steps has US imperialism taken in recent years to give the NATO military machine more muscle?

A NATO Council meeting in London in May 1977 resolved that a long-term programme of military preparations would be drawn up to be submitted to its session in the following spring. This programme covered ten areas: modernisation of tactical nuclear forces; increased combat readiness of all forces; higher preparedness level of reservists; faster transportation of strategic reserves from the USA and Canada to Europe in a crisis; enlargement of the NATO

naval forces; qualitative improvement of the air defence system and more effective troop control and communication; faster introduction of means of radioelectronic warfare; extension of weapons standardisation; increase of the stockpiles of military equipment and their deployment in the most likely areas of hostilities.

NATO accentuated its disrepute with a detailed plan for increasing its military machine which was considered by its Washington conference in 1978. Much has been written about the decisions adopted by that conference. Their essence boils down to building up the military potential of the NATO member-states by an annual 3 per cent increment (in real terms) in their military budgets. As a result of the implementation of these decisions mountains of weapons are being stockpiled in Western Europe.

NATO has also carried out a short-term programme for reinforcing its military capability, envisaging an increase of military equipment resources and heightening the combat readiness of troops. US imperialism has drawn its NATO allies into the "collective" arms race under the slogan: "Effectiveness and power". Henceforth, two-thirds of the armaments are used not for the replacement of obsolete models, as the imperialist states assert, but for increasing existing stockpiles.

Thus, in 1978 and 1979 there was a reinvigoration of NATO activity in building up its military capability. It modernised and reinforced the power of conventional armed forces and its tactical nuclear weapons and laid the preparations for the deployment of "Eurostrategic" nuclear weapons.

For NATO, to quote William Perry, the former Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, 1979 was a year of rapid progress in the consolidation of the efforts of individual countries to increase the NATO military capability. He identified four specific directions in which the USA counted on achieving a preponderance in the balance of strength between East and West. They were an increase of the NATO members' military spending on research and development; the enlargement of the US military-industrial facilities; and cooperation and standardisation of NATO armaments.

According to Perry, this would, with time, bring superiority in the production of the most sophisticated types and systems of armaments.

What explains the special attention that the NATO leadership has lately been giving to the standardisation of armaments?

Standardisation of armaments holds a special place in NATO's plans. Its significance is mainly to maximise the efforts to reinforce the military capability. In the opinion of *Armed Forces Journal International*, weapons and equipment standardisation in NATO can yield an annual saving of between \$6 and 11 billion and increase the fighting capacity of the bloc's armed forces by 30-40 per cent.

To this end it is intended to standardise the armaments used by the NATO countries and revise many specifications for the manufacture of these armaments. There is to be a reduction of NATO's present 100 types of naval vessels, 23 types of tactical aircraft, 41 gun and launching facilities of the naval forces, and so forth. In other words, standardisation is to cover 19 areas of armaments.

One more argument offered in favour of standardisation is that military leaders of the imperialist powers are disturbed by the shortening of the period between the development and the placing into operation of new Soviet military equipment. This argument betrays an acknowledgement of Soviet industry's enhanced efficiency, the high level of Soviet science and technology, the improved organisational structure of the Soviet economy, and its more effective links to science.

However, this should not eclipse the internal motives of NATO's efforts. This imperialist bloc wants to have a cumulative military capacity enabling it to retrieve its lost "positions of strength" in international affairs.

In order to share with others the expenditures and, at the same time, harness its NATO partners more closely to itself, the USA is trying to extend the functions of that bloc. The strategists in Washington are obviously eager to involve tens of other countries into their military preparations, to entangle the world in their web of bases, airfields, and arms depots.

All NATO's programmes to optimise the military machine are indicative of the striving to use the resources of the imperialist countries for political purposes. A. H. Cornell, a NATO official, noted that East-West relations are presently characterised as relations between macroeconomic systems and that this requires total military, economic, and political cooperation among the Western states.

What is the threat to Europe from NATO's plans for a "limited" nuclear war?

There has lately been a steep escalation of the efforts to get European public opinion to accept one of the variants of a "limited" nuclear war. The US and NATO propaganda machine is trying to prove that nuclear war is "permissible" in Europe. Much has been done in this direction by top political and military leaders of the USA and NATO. One is sometimes amazed at the zeal of the former NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns, who is to this day prepared to sacrifice all his fellow-countrymen and, with them, the other peoples of Western Europe to his anti-Soviet views.

The Western mass media can, of course, make the plea that Luns is a private person. But then how does this square with documents like the national security directive approved by Ronald Reagan on May 17, 1982 or the FY 1984-1988 Defense Guidance endorsed by Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger in April 1982? They leave no doubt that the USA and NATO have decided to speed up preparations for a "protracted" nuclear war of at least six months' duration. They are also ready to accept a conventional war in Europe with the use of modern military equipment, including electronics, lasers, and so forth.

Imperialist propagandists are trying to dull the vigilance of the European peoples. One of their arguments is that although Europe has had nuclear weapons for a long time this has rather increased than diminished its security.

When and for what purpose were US nuclear weapons first brought to the European continent?

Two groups of US B-29 bombers equipped with atomic bombs were sent to Europe in July 1948 and were stationed in Britain in accordance with the "advanced frontiers" strategy envisaging the conduct of hostilities in Europe "as far as possible to the East".

In parallel, the USA took steps to station tactical nuclear weapons in Western Europe. The first tactical nuclear warhead was tested in May 1953, and as early as four months later the US government announced that the first six 280-mm guns using such warheads were being sent to the US forces in Europe.

Beginning in the mid-1950s, US missiles capable of hit-

ting targets in the western regions of the USSR began to be deployed in Western Europe under the guise of tactical nuclear weapons.

Thus, in the absence of any military threat, the USA began a contest in two key areas of the military-strategic balance: the production of tactical nuclear missiles and of intermediate-range armaments, both air-borne and nuclear-missile. The stationing of US nuclear weapons in Western Europe threatened security on the continent, turning it into a spring-board of a probable nuclear war. These senseless actions were camouflaged with the argument that the USA was worried about the "Soviet military threat" and only desired to give its West European partners "nuclear guarantees" safeguarding them against war.

What changes did the US "nuclear guarantees" to Western Europe undergo?

Basic modifications of the "American guarantees" to Western Europe were introduced at the beginning of the 1960s when the USA went over to the "flexible response" strategy. The purpose of this reappraisal was to enhance the US capability of fighting a "regional" war, i.e., in Western Europe. Washington shifted the burden of war and its calamities to the shoulders of the West Europeans in the hope of reducing the risk of nuclear retaliation against the USA itself.

In the 1960s there was thus a change in US military-political strategy relative to its NATO allies. The USA's political and military leaders had to reconsider the role of nuclear armaments as an instrument of foreign policy in the direction of making greater use of conventional, non-nuclear weapons. However, in the USA's global strategy nuclear weapons retained their former functions; all that was changed was the threshold at which they would be used.

Does this mean that the government in Washington felt it would be more sensible to conduct a "conventional" war in Europe?

The aspiration of the US political elite to make wider use of non-nuclear armaments in its foreign policy became a stable tendency in the early 1960s and has remained such to this day. But it should not be imagined that this tenden-

cy developed to the detriment of nuclear armaments. In creating so-called balanced total forces, the US military and political leadership has not renounced the idea of using nuclear weapons in combat operations. It is guided, however, by the view that the end objective of a nuclear war will be attained by the forces that survive the initial period of the war rather than the strategic echelon that will deliver the first nuclear strike. In Washington's opinion, this augments the "survivability" of nuclear weapons. It is believed by the US military command that the role of the conventional armed forces will grow in parallel with the development of hostilities.

What is the attitude of the West Europeans to the US "limited" nuclear war strategy?

Naturally, the prospect of the nuclear destruction of West European countries for the welfare of the USA gives the leaders of these countries no pleasure at all. However, class solidarity prevents them from openly rejecting nuclear war and taking a stand against the military plans of the US leaders. They are therefore moving along the old track and trying to develop a way out in the closer "bond" of their own security to the security of the USA.

As a matter of fact, the distinctions in the positions of the USA and Western Europe explain why the "flexible response" doctrine was officially adopted by NATO six years after the USA. Under the pretext of "defending" Western Europe Washington forced upon it, within the framework of this doctrine, an arms race direction most suited to the USA. First, the West Europeans had to increase the numerical strength of their armed forces and the aggregate quantity of their conventional weapons. Second, plans were laid for building up US Euro-strategic and tactical nuclear arsenals in Western Europe. Third, the USA took steps to make its strategic weapons more "flexible".

As further developments demonstrated, this direction of the arms race evolved, in fact, into preparations for a "limited" nuclear war in Europe. The US course towards the development of nuclear weapons and the creation of more and more new types of these weapons (including neutron, "mini-nuclear" and "Euro-strategic") is being increasingly linked to its military-strategic "limited" nuclear war concepts.

The neutron bomb has become a sinister synonym of a "limited" nuclear war in Europe. "The neutron bomb," said the Italian General Nino Pasti, "is an offensive not a defensive weapon. Its purpose is to make a breach in the enemy defenses through which the NATO armed forces could move in the course of their invasion without the threat of being held up by the radioactive contamination of the locality... For that reason, the deployment of neutron bombs in Europe would be an incentive rather than a deterrent to starting a war."

The Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community, as well as many other nations, have for many years been stating their objections to the development and deployment of new types of weapons of mass destruction, including the neutron bomb. The USSR's posture is motivated not by the difficulties of developing such a weapon but by considerations of the highest humaneness. It is no problem to create a neutron weapon. The real problem—a political, humanitarian one—is how to prevent the appearance and utilisation of this weapon.

Does the "flexible response" doctrine move away or bring nearer a nuclear war in Europe?

According to the NATO Council Military Committee document MC 14/3, "Overall Strategic Concept for Defense of the NATO Area", which enunciates the "flexible response" doctrine, defence must conform to the mode of attack chosen by the aggressor. If defence with conventional armaments does not contain the aggressor nuclear weapons will be brought into action.

The US military have long been looking for the earliest possible opportunity to use the nuclear armaments deployed in Western Europe. The American analyst Morton H. Halperin has noted that the USA believes it will derive significant advantages from the use of tactical nuclear armaments and hence the conclusion about the need for its first use on the battlefield.

Some West European leaders console themselves with the thought that the use of tactical nuclear weapons will serve as a sort of "bridge" to bringing strategic nuclear weapons into action. However, in Washington there are influential circles that, in order to attain world supremacy, are prepared to sacrifice their West European allies. That is pre-

cisely why the USA is trying to persuade its allies that apart from conventional armed forces tactical nuclear weapons are the main "deterrent". Halperin believes that the Americans will fight with tactical nuclear weapons and then blow up the world. This prospect gives no joy to the peoples of Western Europe and the anti-war movement is their reply to the intrigues of US imperialism.

Have the US plans relative to Europe changed in recent years under the influence of West European public opinion's firm stand against nuclear war?

These plans remain oriented on preparations for a nuclear war in Europe. James Schlesinger, who was US Secretary of Defense, declared that the USA should try to reduce the vulnerability of the systems already deployed. NATO, he said, should consider replacing existing types of armaments with systems more suitable for Eastern and Western Europe.

US officials acknowledge that there are roughly 7,000 nuclear warheads in Western Europe. This is enough to reduce West European cities and villages to radioactive ruins.

The American leaders are preoccupied with trying to find a way out of the "nuclear impasse" they had themselves created. It was their actions in deploying nuclear weapons that compelled the Soviet Union to take counter measures to neutralise the threat from these weapons. They have saturated Western Europe with nuclear weapons but they failed to attain their objectives relative to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They are currently endeavouring to turn tactical nuclear weapons into a "rational" means of achieving their foreign policy aims. But it is symbolic that all their designs boil down to speeding up the implementation of military programmes, to increasing the combat readiness of the NATO armed forces.

True, a growing segment of political leaders in Western Europe are coming to understand that in a situation marked by military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA Western Europe needs a more independent policy relative to socialist countries. An expression of this understanding has been France's withdrawal from the NATO military organisation and Greece's shrinking links to the NATO bloc.

This has brought the British analyst Christopher J. Makins to the conclusion that there has been a growing tendency towards the separation of West European interests, a tendency that (a) will persist and (b) should not irritate the Americans. It should not, but does.

What are now the highest priority problems for European security?

The main threat to European security is from the stake that the US military are making on the new intermediate-range nuclear systems in Europe—Pershing-2 and cruise missiles.

In addition to having a long range (up to 2,600 kilometres), cruise missiles can penetrate anti-aircraft defences at low altitudes (up to 60 metres). In the West it is asserted that at present there is no defence against low-flying cruise missiles, which cannot be detected either prior to launching or in flight. This is a quality implicit in "counter-force" weapons systems. It would seem that the leaders of the NATO West European member-states that are permitting the deployment of weapons of this type on their territory should give a thought to the consequences that their actions may have for the peoples of Europe.

The Pershing-2 missile creates a similar threat to European security. Suffice it to note that it takes five or six minutes to reach targets in the USSR and that it has a range of nearly 2,500 kilometres. Few people now doubt the aggressive designs that motivated the stationing of such missiles in Western Europe.

Cruise and Pershing missiles were developed in the USA for a "limited" nuclear war in Europe. True, and this is now quite obvious, those who initiated their development also had a longer-term aim in mind, that of secretly creating another "counter-force" element as a base for aggression to ensure world supremacy to US imperialism.

What explains Washington's persistence in imposing its missiles on Western Europe?

By getting these missiles deployed in Europe the USA is trying to adapt the European continent for a "protracted limited" nuclear war and, moreover, reduce the power of the retaliatory nuclear strike at US territory.

Because of the speed with which the Pershing-2 missiles can reach their targets, the adventure-prone elements in the US military-political leadership may be tempted to use them for a pre-emptive strike. This is all the more likely because even from the psychological standpoint it is easier to decide on such a step than on starting a strategic exchange of nuclear strikes. *The Washington Post* put it bluntly when it wrote that Pershing-2 and cruise missiles were seen as first-strike weapons at targets on the territory of Warsaw Treaty nations.

The stationing of new weapons systems in Western Europe is thus designed to give the USA a second "counter-force" capability, as distinct from the "counter-force" capability deployed on its own territory. The government in Washington thus counts on shifting the initial stage of a nuclear conflict to Europe and to conduct it there with the utmost effectiveness in the hope of winning the conflict before it becomes a global war and spreads to the territory of the USA itself.

How does the US government explain its actions which are fraught with a mortal threat to Western Europe?

A slander campaign has been launched, and the "Soviet military threat" myth has been revived. This mythical "threat" is used as evidence that there is a need for an addition to NATO's nuclear capability in Western Europe through the stationing of American Pershing-2 and cruise missiles. This "need"—which, in fact, signifies the creation of a nuclear potential for aggression—is complemented with other far-fetched arguments: first, the growth of Soviet influence in developing countries (despite the fact that this cannot threaten European security); second—and this is meant for American opinion in the first place—the attainment of US political aims in Western Europe; and third, the desire to have a "bargaining chip" at the talks on intermediate-range and theatre weapons systems. The purpose of the third argument is to give the impression that it is the USA rather than the Soviet Union that wants the disarmament talks to be successful.

What, in this case, are the USA's actual motivations for escalating the arms race in Europe?

It is, first of all, the aspiration of US and NATO leaders to achieve superiority in nuclear and conventional armaments and have the possibility of "controlling the escalation" of war on the continent in accordance with the "flexible response" strategy. The US military see the possibility of "controlling escalation" as a situation in which having started a nuclear conflict they would hold the advantage at every stage of that conflict. General Bernard Rogers, NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, declared on December 16, 1982 that NATO had to maintain a nuclear first-strike capability, which he linked closely to the deployment of new US nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

The US military thus aspire not only to alter the balance of military strength in the world and in Europe in favour of the USA but also to pave the way for a "protracted limited" nuclear war on European territory.

The US military leaders are studying another variant in the shape of the Rogers Plan. It boils down to spurring the conventional arms race and improving the capacity to fight a conventional war. The Rogers Plan requires an increase of military spending, a growth of the numerical strength of the armed forces, and more military equipment. Like the plans for a "limited" nuclear war, it calls for the conduct of military operations on foreign territory. Precisely in connection with this plan the provocative question is more and more frequently raised of moving large military units to the direct proximity of the frontiers of socialist states.

In the USA work has been accelerated on weapons systems designed to destroy the enemy's "second echelons" and other targets. One of these systems is being developed on the basis of Tomahawk cruise missiles.

Further, they are developing systems to destroy the tank units of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. "The principal orientation in the build-up of land forces," notes the Soviet analyst R. Simonyan, "is to build up their offensive capacity, their assault and fire power, and make them more manoeuvrable on the battlefield."

They are planning a steep enhancement of the number and quality of the tanks at the disposal of the NATO countries.

These changes in the military policy of the USA and

NATO come under the heading of "Airland Battle-2000". Over and above what we have noted, they envisage the development and deployment in Europe of "thinking" electronic armaments, and of means of automating and robotising any future war.

Has the USSR an advantage in intermediate-range weaponry?

None at all. Prior to the deployment of new intermediate-range missiles, the NATO countries had 857 nuclear warhead carriers, including 650 US F-III, FB-III, and F-4 aircraft and also A-6 and A-7 planes on aircraft carriers. In addition Britain had 64 ballistic missiles and France had 98 missiles and 44 bombers.

To counter this force, the Soviet Union had 938 analogous weapons systems (455 land-based missiles, 18 sea-based missiles, and 465 bombers).

This makes for an approximate parity between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO in intermediate-range systems. However, for the number of nuclear warheads deliverable in one launching NATO is ahead of the Warsaw Treaty by 50 per cent. But this did not substantially affect the balance of strength in Europe.

Contrary to the facts, the imperialist press has asserted that by stationing intermediate-range SS-20 missiles the USSR has either created or is creating a significant military superiority over the NATO states. One of the allegations made by the Pentagon propagandists is that the deployment of the SS-20s had fundamentally altered the military-strategic situation in Europe. This allegation was the smoke-screen for deploying new American first-strike land-based Pershing-2 and cruise missiles.

The Soviet SS-20 missile is more sophisticated than the SS-4 and SS-5, which has after 20 years been removed from service. It is mobile and carries three higher-accuracy and longer-range warheads. However, the better qualitative specifications of this missile do not alter its designation.

The SS-20 is not designated for any new military function over and above the function for which the SS-4 and SS-5 were deployed.

Unlike the US missiles, the Soviet missiles cannot serve as a first-strike weapon for the obvious reason that their range does not allow them to hit the US strategic forces on

their own territory. The attempts to attribute to the USSR a desire to blackmail the NATO countries are venal from beginning to end, because any blackmail is incompatible with the character of Soviet foreign policy and military doctrine. If this does not sound convincing to persons blinded by anti-Sovietism, let them draw upon elementary logic: blackmail is possible only in the event of military-strategic superiority. The Soviet Union is not aspiring to achieve such superiority.

As a matter of fact, in recent years the Americans, British, and French have themselves repeatedly modernised their analogous systems. In Britain the Polaris A-3 is being replaced by the more sophisticated SLBM Polaris A-3TK, while in the current decade the new SLBM Trident-2 will be in position. In France it has been decided to replace the single-warhead M-20 SLBM with the seven-warhead M-4 SLBM, and the land-based single-warhead SS-3 missile with the SS-4, which likewise carries seven warheads. According to press reports, in the period from 1975 to 1980 the nuclear capability of the French armed forces increased from 230 to 275 megatons. The bourgeois media and politicians were calm about this. Why have they become vocal when similar steps are being taken by the USSR?

Second, when attention is drawn to the enhanced accuracy of Soviet missiles, nothing is, for some reason, said about the reduced yield of the new nuclear warheads (they have less than 15 per cent of the yield of the warheads they have replaced). The greater accuracy therefore only compensates for this diminished yield of the warheads. To put things in their proper perspective, it must be recalled that the Western powers were the first to begin heightening accuracy.

Third, a greater range does not in the least change the overall picture because, as before, it does not reach beyond the European continent.

Fourth, the mobility of the SS-20 is not, as NATO propagandists claim, a destabilising factor. On the contrary, it reinforces the stability of the situation in Europe. The mobility of Soviet missiles has been developed to give them a retaliatory capability, and thereby a heightened viability. Objectively, this dulls the aggressive character of the NATO military doctrine, which is based on inflicting a pre-emptive strike.

Fifth, up until the question arose of adopting a decision

on the deployment of new American missiles, the NATO leaders displayed no alarm. In other words, the propaganda over the SS-20 missiles was clearly a derivative of the plans laid in Washington and at NATO headquarters.

The authors of the Pentagon pamphlet disregard the facts where they do not tally with their own views. By drawing a "disturbing" picture of the balance of military strength in Europe they try to frighten the reader, claiming that the Soviet nuclear arsenal in Europe has doubled in recent years.

Washington is using the cover provided by invention to deploy new missiles in Western Europe in an effort to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union regionally and globally. It is highly indicative that the media controlled by Washington give only passing mention to the many Soviet initiatives aimed at curbing the nuclear arms race in Europe as well.

*What is the Soviet stand relative to the plans
and actions of the bellicose elements in the USA
and NATO?*

The Warsaw Treaty Declaration signed at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee on May 14-15, 1980 drew attention to the danger that would accompany the deployment of US intermediate-range missiles in some West European NATO countries. A growth of the number of weapons of mass destruction in Europe would inevitably aggravate the political situation on that continent and affect the vital interests of its peoples. This word of caution by the Warsaw Treaty countries has been fully borne out. In the period since the NATO session of December 1979 the situation on the continent and the world in general has deteriorated drastically. The deployment of US intermediate-range missiles in some West European countries has become the central problem of peace and security not only of a European but of a world-wide dimension.

The Soviet Union has not relinquished its efforts to reach agreement in this area. "The most correct thing to do," said the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, "would be to begin talks and annul or at least officially halt the fulfilment of the NATO decision."

In 1981 there were further Soviet initiatives, such as a proposal to come to terms that a moratorium should be set on the deployment in Europe of new intermediate-range nuclear missiles of the NATO countries and the Soviet

Union, that is, to freeze the existing quantitative and qualitative level of these weapons.

The response from the USA and NATO was not evidence of a desire to look for agreement. President Reagan insisted that in exchange for the USA's renunciation of the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe the Soviet Union should renounce its defensive systems ensuring the protection of the European part of its territory and also the protection of its allies. The US proposal was, as though in mockery, called "zero option". It would indeed have resulted in zero for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which would have found themselves unarmed in the face of an adversary who had retained the nuclear armaments he had brought to Western Europe and turned over to NATO, to say nothing of the nuclear systems available to Britain and France.

At a press-conference organised by Soviet military leaders on December 5, 1983 in Moscow, it was stressed that a striking contrast existed between the Soviet and the US positions at the Geneva arms limitation talks, disrupted through the fault of the US administration. It was shown that before the United States had started deploying intermediate-range missiles in some NATO countries the USSR had in Europe 938 intermediate-range carriers (465 bombers and 473 missiles, of which nearly half were obsolete). The NATO bloc had 857 (Britain's and France's 162 missiles and 695 bombers). The USSR had a somewhat larger number of carriers, and NATO had more nuclear warheads (3,056 against 2,153), but on the whole there was an approximate equilibrium.

What, in fact, did the USA suggest? According to its "zero option" the USSR had to dismantle all its 473 intermediate-range missiles and leave only 465 bombers, while NATO retained all its nuclear systems, thereby getting a double advantage in carriers and an almost treble advantage in warheads. With the failure of the "zero option", Reagan suggested an "interim solution", which would "permit" the USSR to retain a certain number of its missiles provided a similar number of US missiles were deployed in Europe. NATO would once more get an almost double advantage.

The USSR suggested reducing the number of nuclear weapons carriers by about two-thirds (to 300 units) with an equal sublevel of missiles. It further proposed that the number of warheads on SS-20 missiles would not be larger

than the number of warheads on missiles available to Britain and France. Since they had between 420 and 430 warheads and the new Soviet missile carries three warheads, the USSR declared that it would agree to leave only 140 missiles in Europe, in other words, fewer than the number available to Britain and France (162). There obviously were all the makings of a fair agreement. But even this did not suit Washington.

The year 1982 saw the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community of states and all the other peace forces determined to prevent either a nuclear or a conventional war in Europe. Among the European peoples the opinion took firm root that the best solution would be to make Europe free of all nuclear weapons, both intermediate-range and tactical. The Warsaw Treaty nations declared in their Political Declaration: "... If this genuine 'zero option' is unattainable at present, it would be expedient to move towards a radical reduction of medium-range nuclear systems in Europe on the basis of equality and equal security." In this context the Soviet Union advanced extremely important proposals in December 1982-May 1983 aimed at breaking the deadlock in the Soviet-US negotiations on limiting nuclear armaments in Europe.

It proposed limiting the number of intermediate-range nuclear delivery vehicles and nuclear warheads to an equal level on both sides: both as regards missiles and aircraft of this class. A limitation of this kind must take into consideration the number of warheads on each side.

There is no type of weapon whose limitation, on a basis of reciprocity, has not been proposed by the Soviet leadership. This concerns conventional armaments and nuclear weapons, not only medium-range but also operational-tactical.

Washington's stubborn refusal to reckon with the other side's interests and conduct the talk on the principle of equal security, while simultaneously building up its military potential, of course caused concern in the Soviet Union.

As was justly noted by Soviet leaders, where the security of peoples is concerned, foreign policy and diplomacy can do much. But not everything. Here an indispensable role is played by the deterrent power of the USSR's defence capability. It is now not only the guarantor of the constructive work of the Soviet people but also the guarantor of peace throughout the world.

What steps has the Soviet Union been taking all these years to preclude a higher confrontation in Europe?

When the deployment of new US missiles became an accomplished fact, thereby cutting short the possibility of an agreement on limiting medium-range missiles, the continuation of the talks would have signified *virtual abetment* of those forces in the USA and NATO who are using the Geneva negotiations as a cover for a policy of subverting European and world security.

We must make it plain once more that the USSR did *all in its power* to sign a fair agreement that would not prejudice the security of either side. Both at the start and during the talks the USSR advanced many *constructive recommendations* aimed at attaining a mutually-acceptable result. The following are only a few examples to illustrate the consistency of the USSR in pursuing this policy.

— Long before NATO adopted its “double-track decision” the USSR declared on several occasions (for instance, on March 2 and October 6, 1979) that it was *prepared* to accept a mutual limitation on intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe;

— on November 6 and 23, 1979 the USSR declared that it was “necessary to begin negotiations at once”;

— at the same time the Soviet Union declared that as a gesture of its good will it was prepared to reduce *unilaterally* a definite number of medium-range nuclear systems in response to a NATO renunciation of the deployment of additional missiles of this type.

After NATO had adopted its December 1979 decision, the USSR did not abandon its attempts to reach mutually acceptable understandings with the USA. Its stand was flexible and took into account the interests of the USA and its allies:

— In March 1982, in order to create a salutary situation for the talks in Geneva, the USSR unilaterally halted the deployment of medium-range nuclear systems in its European part and then announced that it had begun reducing a significant number of its missiles and was ceasing the building of launching pads for such missiles;

— in November 1981 the USSR proposed the *removal of all* nuclear weapons from Europe, both intermediate-range and tactical;

— later, the USSR suggested reducing available intermediate-range systems to *300 units*;

— on December 21, 1982 the USSR proposed an *equal level* within the limit of a total of 300 units for the sides;

— on May 3, 1983 the Soviet Union announced that it was prepared to have roughly the same number of both medium-range *carriers* and *warheads* to them as NATO. The main method of reduction would be dismantling;

— on August 27 the USSR took a new step, declaring that in reducing the number of its missiles to the number of missiles available to Britain and France *it would destroy those earmarked for reduction*.

The USA replied to all these constructive initiatives either by rejecting them, by protracting negotiations, or making deliberately unacceptable terms giving the USA unilateral advantages.

More, the USA and its allies did not make *any* effort to ensure a successful consummation of the talks. They did not even delay the deployment of missiles to give the then ongoing talks a chance of being continued.

Instead, through the mass media, the ruling circles of the USA and NATO sought to give public opinion in their countries the false belief that far from cutting off the negotiations the start of the missile deployment would help to bring them to a successful conclusion. They were well aware that the USSR and its allies would take counter measures to safeguard their security. The disruption of the talks was thus *predetermined* by the USA's striving to have its missiles stationed in Western Europe at all costs.

The fact of this deployment creates a fundamentally new strategic situation in the world and threatens the security and very existence of the peoples of Europe, Asia, and Africa. This situation is marked by the efforts being made by the USA and NATO to change the military strategic balance between the USSR and the USA and between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO in their favour, thereby eliminating the *main condition* of the preservation of world peace and threatening the world with a new spiral of the arms race that will affect not only the European but also other countries.

Moreover, the Soviet Union has to reckon with the fact that the USA is trying to turn new intermediate-range nuclear systems into an instrument of its foreign policy, which it is pursuing under the banner of a "crusade" against so-

cialism. The support that the governments of the FRG, Britain, and Italy are giving to this reckless policy despite the will of their peoples signifies that together with the USA these governments bear the *full responsibility* for further developments.

In this situation the Soviet Union and its allies took *strictly portioned* counter-measures that would be kept *exclusively to the limits* of the actions taken by the NATO countries. The USSR will do only what is *absolutely necessary* to preserve the military-strategic equilibrium. The validity of these counter-measures sprang not only from the need to safeguard the security of the USSR and its allies but also and ultimately from the need to maintain peace in the world.

The subsequent months only bore out the correctness of the measures taken by the Soviet Union and its allies. The USA and its NATO allies did not cease their attempts to reshape the military-strategic balance in the world in their favour.

However, as was stated by the Soviet government on June 2, 1984, the Soviet Union is firmly convinced that the threat of war can be reduced and then totally eliminated. It has done and will go on doing everything necessary to that end.

Lately there has been much talk to the effect that NATO plans to withdraw some of the US nuclear armaments from Europe. Does this mean that changes are taking place for the better in the policies pursued by the USA and its allies?

No, it does not. This is sooner political humbug to calm world opinion, which has been alarmed by the deployment of US intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

Let us turn to the facts. The US leadership intends to have 17,000 new nuclear charges in the 1980s, and of these 11,000 are to be used to replace obsolete ones. The US arsenal will thus be enlarged by 6,000 nuclear charges.

To replace obsolete weapons, the US did indeed plan, beginning in 1984, to withdraw from Europe 1,400 of its tactical charges. The reason that the US administration decided to get rid of obsolete nuclear weapons in Europe was not at all to lower the level of nuclear confrontation. It had a different objective, namely, to try and secure both a political and a military advantage.

On the political level it counts on its "cutback" propaganda misleading public opinion, getting people to believe that the deployment of new US missiles in Europe does not mean a build-up of nuclear armaments. To this end the announcement that obsolete US weapons would be removed from Europe was specially timed to coincide with the start of the new deployment.

Now a few words about military objectives. Qualitative rearmament not only compensates for but more than covers the certain numerical reduction of the US nuclear warheads in Europe. *The US News & World Report* candidly admits that the new US missiles will be a more than effective replacement for the systems being reduced.

The NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe General Rogers declared that he would be glad to be rid of a larger number of weapons since the USA was in a position to modernise the NATO nuclear systems. He said that he agreed to the reduction of nuclear weapons after he was assured that this reduction would take place only by way of replacing obsolete nuclear weapons by more efficient and sophisticated systems, even if their warheads were non-nuclear.

This admission by the American general is highly significant. It confirms that the "reduction" will be formal, since it will ultimately give NATO a greater combat capacity. The latest systems of highly accurate conventional weapons have almost the same yield as tactical nuclear weapons and can, like medium-range nuclear missiles, be used for a "disarming" first strike. General Rogers can be pleased. A material foundation is being built up for his plan: *The New York Times* has reported that over 400 new weapons and equipment systems have been approved for the armed forces.

In this light one can understand why the Pentagon agrees to withdraw obsolete nuclear weapons from Europe. In combination with the latest non-nuclear armaments, a qualitatively new nuclear capacity is more in keeping with the US offensive, aggressive strategy of "direct confrontation". Another reason why the USA has willingly agreed to this pseudo-reduction is that its NATO allies are planning to upgrade the number and effectiveness of their nuclear forces.

Such is the background of the farce over the withdrawal from Europe of part of the US nuclear armaments. Its es-

sense is not "minus two plus one", as lovers of numerical formulas in the Pentagon and NATO would have people believe, but rather "minus one plus two". The ballyhoo about a "nuclear cutback" cannot hide the fact that the USA and its allies are keeping a huge arsenal of several thousand nuclear warheads in Europe in the calculation of using them for a first strike.

What is the character of the argument between the USA and its allies over questions of nuclear strategy?

US imperialism's determination, at the start of the 1980s, to deploy intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe created a problem not only in East-West relations but also in the relations between the USA and its West European allies. This revived and exacerbated old and new military-political contradictions inside the imperialist camp. These may be bracketed on three levels: (a) military-political contradictions between allies; (b) contradictions between the proponents of the deployment and the opposition; and (c) contradictions that had evolved into antagonism between the proponents of the deployment and the anti-war movement in the USA and Western Europe.

The actions of the US military and their NATO allies mean that Europe is witnessing the appearance on its soil of nuclear weapons designed for a "disarming" first strike, in other words, weapons that are increasing the temptation to start a nuclear war.

Two mandatory conditions for the creation of a "counter-force" capability are being met—high accuracy and relative invulnerability. This means that in Europe the USA is building up a new, second "counter-force" capability in addition to the already existing strategic capability, and this is creating the material basis for the theories about fighting "limited", "local", and other wars.

Of course, the USA's European allies are seriously apprehensive over how the US nuclear arsenal will be used in a crisis situation. There are full grounds for such apprehensions. The Pentagon's Airland Battle-2000—which it is trying to get NATO to accept as its official doctrine—envisages a combined "pre-emptive" strike at the Warsaw Treaty countries with nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons.

The West German General Gunther Kiessling, NATO's Deputy Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, was sent into retirement at the very close of 1983. The reason for the retirement of one of the senior officers of the FRG and NATO was his disagreement with the US General Rogers over military strategy, chiefly, his opposition to the American first-strike doctrine.

In August 1983 the government of Greece, which is a member of NATO, suggested postponing putting into effect the NATO decision on deploying intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe for six months in order to give the USSR and the USA the possibility of reaching agreement at the negotiations in Geneva. There was support for this suggestion. Among those who supported it were the Prime Minister of Sweden Olof Palme, the Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Willy Brandt, and the leaders of the Labour Party of Great Britain.

In Washington they ignored the opinion of leading West European personalities. However, developments are producing a growing body of compelling evidence that US imperialism's plans are incompatible with the interests of West Europeans.

*What is the balance of strength between
NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation?*

There is at present an approximate military-strategic equilibrium between the USSR and the USA and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO. However, this does not invalidate the certain imbalances caused by the distinctions in the positions of the sides. In the overall alignment of strength the USA's allies hold a very important position.

In geopolitical terms the USA is in a more advantageous position than the USSR. It does not have near its frontiers a comparably powerful real or potential adversary. This concerns not only the USA land but also its sea frontiers. The position of the USSR is different. In its proximity there are US military bases and the armed forces of NATO states and other nations. The USSR's frontiers have a total length of over 67,000 kilometres, of which 20,000 kilometres are land frontiers. These frontiers have to be defended—in the west, east, and south.

In strategic terms the USA has a ramified forward-based

system. Actually, this is one more strategic capability that US policy neglects to take into account at negotiations but does not forget to perfect constantly.

The location of American military bases and theatre weapons systems, and the armed forces of the USA's potential and actual allies are such that they make it incumbent upon the Soviet Union to adopt a system of measures to counter-balance the threat from different directions. The armies of the USSR and its allies have to defend a territory of 23.5 million square kilometres, while the NATO armed forces have to defend only 2 million square kilometres, which is only one-eleventh of the above territory.

From the military-strategic standpoint there is an approximate parity between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO, but it is only approximate because we have to take into account some tangible imbalances existing at present. An idea of these imbalances is given by the following statistics.

Numerical Strength of the NATO and WTO Armed Forces

	NATO	WTO	Balance
	'000		
Total regular troops	4,933	4,788	1.03:1
Total land troops	2,713	2,613	1.04:1
Land troops in Europe	2,125	1,664	1.27:1

Balance Between NATO and WTO in Tactical Aircraft and Helicopters

Combat aircraft	1 : 1.2
Bomb payload deliverable over a distance of 185 km	3 : 1
Helicopters	1.8 : 1

If it is borne in mind that NATO and the WTO have an equal number of tanks, but that the West has a much larger number of anti-tank and support systems, we will find that the North Atlantic bloc not only has no grounds for speaking of a WTO advantage but that the steps currently being taken by NATO to increase its military strength can only be qualified as preparations for war.

This is very strikingly seen in the balance of naval strength. It is as follows:

Balance Between NATO and WTO Naval Forces

	NATO		WTO		Position of WTO
	total including the USA		total including the USSR		
Aircraft carriers and air-capable ships	25	21	2	2	-23
Submarines	279	128	385	377	+106
Battleships, cruisers, destroyers, missile frigates	300	145	107	106	-193
Escort ships (frigates) and small anti-submarine vessels	319	99	187	168	-132
Cutter and mine sweepers	711	168	1,059	735	+348
Landing ships and cutters	541	160	132	86	-409
Total combat ships	2,175	720	1,872	1,474	-303
Combat aircraft and helicopters	3,173	2,530	1,126	1,040	-2,047

From this table it follows that the NATO naval strength consists of attack forces. These include 25 aircraft carriers and air-capable ships, while the USSR has only two anti-submarine aircraft-carriers.

The statistics cited enable us to draw the following conclusions: first, the NATO countries are not behind the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in the basic parameters of military strength, while in many indicators they are ahead; second, the efforts of these countries to add to their military capability are evidence of their striving to make still wider the numerical and qualitative gap in favour of NATO; third, these statistics are incontrovertible evidence of the big role played by the USA's West European allies in the overall military balance.

The US administration is making public its course towards preparations for a protracted war against the USSR and its allies simultaneously in several theatres. Caspar Weinberger, the US Defense Secretary, has declared that the concept of "one and a half or two and a half wars" is becoming inappropriate and that the USA must be prepared to fight any wars in any region of vital interest to it. It has such interest, according to Weinberger, in practically every part of the world.

What are the political and psychological effects of the arms race?

US imperialism has placed a quality dimension on the arms race in order to create a new form of pressure on a probable adversary. The appearance of new types of weapons and new methods of using weapons would, it is calculated in Washington, confront that adversary with problems linked to as yet unknown effects of the use of such weapons. This factor can seriously affect the fighting capacity of the adversary's troops and, on a broad plane, his population.

The objective is thus to intimidate and demoralise the probable adversary, to break his will for resistance. It must be noted that the makers of theories of this kind are not unique. They have predecessors. It will be recalled that the Nazi ringleaders hoped to develop a "new" weapon capable of fundamentally changing the course of the war. The Goebbels propaganda machine went into raptures over a new "miracle weapon"—the V-1 cruise and V-2 ballistic missiles, which the Nazis counted on to terrorise the population of London. The finale of this Nazi gamble is well known.

The significance of the psychological aspects of the arms race in US policy is determined also by the fact that Washington calculates on fighting a coalition war. Preparations for such a war require, of course, a certain psychological indoctrination of the population of the countries allied to the USA.

This factor has lately acquired special significance in connection with the steps taken by the USA to deploy intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The USA's rulers are prepared to sacrifice West Europeans, to expose them to a nuclear strike in the hope of diverting the same kind of strike from their own territory or at least diminish it to the extent enabling them to survive a nuclear war.

The arms race signifies not only the build-up of the material resources for fighting a war but also constructing a "scientific" foundation for imperialism's aggressive foreign policy. The transition to a qualitative arms race distinctly brought into the open US imperialism's striving to achieve military-scientific superiority over the socialist countries.

Soviet analysts distinguish three decisive areas in which

science influences the development of things military (military-scientific capability):

- development of the means of warfare;
- training men for modern warfare;
- perfecting the ways and means of conducting an armed struggle.

In defining the direction of the new stage of the arms race the US administration set the aim of placing the development of the US military-scientific capability in a position of supremacy in all the above-mentioned three areas. In practice this is expressed by the increase in the allocations for research and development in these areas, in drawing a large army of scientists into this research and development, in equipping science more generously with the material and technical means of information, and in introducing modern methods of management into scientific research.

Washington's striving to use the arms race for the attainment of a wide spectrum of domestic and foreign-policy aims gives it a sort of "universality" as a means of implementing the policies of the US ruling elite. This is by no means new, but it is now causing growing anxiety because the arms race has begun to turn into an aim in itself, dictating the overall political line of the imperialist states.

In what way is the US administration endeavouring to use nuclear blackmail as an instrument of its policies?

US imperialism sees the existence of socialist countries and the growth of their strength and influence on world developments as the principal external and internal threat to its positions. It is therefore inclined to regard nuclear war as a realistic instrument of external policy, and nuclear weapons as a means of securing changes in the world in its favour. Washington is now eager to recover its nuclear superiority in order to intimidate, undermine and, in the long run, use the threat of a nuclear war to transform the Soviet Union.

Such calculations on nuclear weapons are by no means new in US state policy. Ever since the end of World War II the stake on nuclear weapons, on the threat of using it, has been the alpha and omega of US policy towards the USSR and other socialist countries. For 40 years the ruling elite

in Washington has been keeping the chimera of nuclear superiority on its political horizon. However, it would now be useful to return to this question and see what the "Reagan team" can offer the world community as an alternative to peaceful coexistence.

It seems that in the present historical situation the US administration has fixed upon two ways of using military strength as an instrument of its hegemonistic policies: direct interference in the internal affairs of countries with the use of armies of intervention; and indirect, when the threat of nuclear weapons is used as a political "cover" for out-and-out military interference and for bringing political pressure to bear on its opponents.

Among the various ways of using military strength politically, US imperialism assigns a special place to nuclear blackmail—a specific, extreme form of political intimidation used by the US ruling circles overtly and covertly in promoting their global hegemonistic foreign policy.

A cornerstone of the USA's foreign policy is, above all, the threat of using American military strength. The fact that there has been a return to nuclear blackmail, which became a political reality in the early 1980s, signifies a switch to the crudest, long-outworn forms of using military strength as an instrument of foreign policy.

An analysis of the military policy the USA actually pursues rather than of the policy that it speaks of shows that it hopes to achieve its foreign policy objectives by making more active use of military strength as an instrument of foreign policy in its most dangerous forms: (a) to have the possibility of making direct use of its armed forces (both nuclear and conventional); (b) to create, by means of the arms race, a "position of strength" for the effective political use of the threat of nuclear war.

It is precisely the second form—the threat of using nuclear weapons—that remains the predominant instrument of US foreign policy. The priority tendency is to make the constant threat of nuclear war a means of political confrontation, pressure, and domination.

These guidelines inevitably make Washington's foreign policy increasingly more aggressive, and in effect signify that it is pursuing a policy of balancing on the brink of war. The US administration is trying to place the world in a position where it will have to choose between following in the wake of American foreign policy or finding it-

self facing the threat or even direct use of the Pentagon's military machine.

The aim of US foreign policy thus comes into clear focus: it is to try and compel the USSR to change its socio-political system. This absurdity returns US foreign policy to the close of the 1940s and makes people wonder whether the USA fails to see the difference between the present and the days of 35 years ago?

The current return to the openly anti-Soviet course of the Truman administration has affected not only the objectives of US foreign policy but also the methods of attaining them. Underlying these methods, as had previously been the case, is the threat of using nuclear weapons against the USSR and other countries. In other words, nuclear blackmail has been given the status of US state policy.

In the plans of the US military, nuclear weapons are assigned the special place of an instrument of political blackmail against socialist countries, and it is not to be ruled out that (in order to make the threat more realistic) these weapons may actually be used. That this threat is real is demonstrated, above all, by official plans, "leaked" information, and the various doctrines of "limited" and "protracted" nuclear wars.

The USA's present leaders are trying to build up a superiority in strategic armaments that would enable them to use their military machine to suppress national liberation and progressive movements.

To this end they are advancing various strategies for the use of nuclear weapons in order to persuade any potential adversary that under certain conditions the USA will not shrink from using these weapons. For example, Colin S. Gray, a consultant of the Reagan administration, wrote without beating about the bush that the US government should indicate the war aims that would ultimately envisage the destruction of the Soviet political leadership and the creation of a postwar order in the world compatible with Western values. It is calculated that use of the capacity to destroy an enemy's offensive armaments together with civil defence weapons, anti-missile and anti-aircraft defence systems will enable the USA to limit its casualties in a nuclear war to approximately 20 million persons. Acceptance of such losses makes the US strategic threat more real and serious.

Does the deployment of new US missiles in the territory of some West European countries mean that the inter-imperialist contradictions between the USA and its European allies have receded into the background?

The decision of the US and NATO ruling circles to deploy new American intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe was the natural outcome of imperialism's preceding policies, reflecting their essence and main characteristics, on the basis of which the conclusion may be drawn that under the aegis of US imperialism world imperialism has started material preparations for a global war against socialism.

In this connection bourgeois propagandists assert that inter-imperialist contradictions, their military-political contradictions in the first place, have now made way for Western unity against existing socialism; that the participation of the USA's NATO allies in the deployment of new missiles has reinforced "Atlantic solidarity". Is that the case?

First and foremost, the West European governments have undertaken a colossal responsibility for all the consequences of their decision. They have now found themselves in the position of accomplices of the USA in its drive for world supremacy.

Imperialism's striving to transfer the competition with socialism to the military sphere became particularly obvious in the 1980s, when the most aggressive imperialist circles (chiefly in the USA) decided to resolve the majority of international problems by force. Meanwhile, in the West they began to speak more and more frequently of "consolidating" the efforts of the USA, West European countries, and Japan to "roll back" socialism. There has been a further activation of the role played by NATO, the Common Market, and other supranational agencies. On the other hand, nobody has annulled inter-imperialist contradictions, while the ways of regulating them boil down to the attempts of the ruling circles of Western countries to somehow adjust to the change in the balance of strength between capitalism and socialism.

Inter-imperialist contradictions are an objective feature characterising the relations between capitalist states. They are the inevitable product of the uneven development of capitalist states and of the conflict between the

narrow, egoistic interests of the ruling elite of one state with the interests of the ruling elite of another or other bourgeois states. This clash of interests is to be observed in all areas of the relations between the leading capitalist countries, notably in politics, economics, and monetary-fiscal and commercial relations.

The present stage of capitalism's general crisis has provided many illustrations of this. In the 1980s the world saw acute contradictions between the two main centres of inter-imperialist rivalry: the USA and Western Europe.

In the Western world there is an approximate economic equilibrium between the USA and Western Europe, which has for several years been manufacturing as much industrial products as its senior partner in the Atlantic alliance. For the first time since the end of World War II the investments of West European countries have come level with those of the USA, while their export has exceeded that of the USA *fourfold*. This tendency, experts say, will continue. By the close of this century the development level of industrial production in Western Europe will exceed that of the USA by 20 per cent.

Meanwhile, in foreign affairs, for example, we are witnessing the consolidation of the forces of imperialist states on a conservative basis. Due to the serious contradictions rending the imperialist world in the economic, monetary-fiscal, credit, and commercial spheres, and to the clash of interests on many foreign policy problems, this consolidation is sustained solely by the ideology of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, by common socio-political interests.

Special mention must be made of inter-imperialist contradictions in the military-political area, where the relations between capitalist states are coming under powerful pressure from the main contradiction of our time: that between the forces of capitalism and socialism, between the forces of war and peace. The correlation of these two groups of interests—"national" and "international"—is the key to analysing the military-political contradictions in the relations between the leading capitalist powers. In this area, as in no other, the clash of the national interests of the bourgeoisie of individual countries is held in check by a sort of common "international" interest of the world imperialist bourgeoisie. In spite of this, the contradictions in the military-political area remain.

Since the close of the 1970s the international, class interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the military-political area began perceptibly to prevail over national interests.

For the sake of class solidarity, chiefly in military policy, the governments of the NATO countries are deliberately imposing significant limitations on sovereignty and national independence. They are prepared to expose their countries to a risk that undermines their security and greatly increases the threat of a nuclear war on European soil.

Further, it must be pointed out that since the beginning of the 1980s this tendency has been most seriously influenced by a subjective factor, namely, the coming to power of the most aggressive circles of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the USA. In submission to these circles the race in all types of armaments has been steeply escalated and the international situation artificially aggravated.

Also, the government in Washington is deliberately seeking to raise the level of confrontation in order to involve its allies in its "crusade" against the USSR, compel the West Europeans to allocate more resources for the arms race, and thereby significantly undercut their competitiveness.

The US policy of making the confrontation with the Soviet Union increasingly more dangerous cannot remove the objective contradictions existing between the USA and its allies, contradictions that have a solid foundation in the growth of the relative military and political strength of NATO's West European branch (as a result of this branch's stronger economic positions), the greater coordination in the relations between the NATO West European states, the aggravation of the "crisis of confidence" in the US "nuclear umbrella", the building up of their own nuclear potential (Britain, France), the divergence between the US and the West European understanding of the detente process, and the tendencies and actions countering or furthering this process.

Inter-imperialist contradictions in the military-political area, as in other areas of inter-imperialist rivalry, are thus characterised by the existence of two objective tendencies: first, the tendency towards the exacerbation of existing contradictions fuelled by the uneven development of individual capitalist countries and by differences over the assessment of the present international situation and over the

strategy and tactics for resolving many important foreign policy problems; and, second, the tendency towards smoothing over the distinctions in the foreign and military policies of the industrial capitalist countries under the slogan of "Atlantic solidarity", which is itself based on the common political, economic, social, and ideological interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie as a whole.

NEW FORMS OF THE ARMS RACE

In what is now expressed the link between the development of military technology and the new doctrines of US imperialism?

The arms race conducted by US imperialism bears the imprint of the official US military doctrine. Bourgeois political scientists dissemble when they assert that the arms race is a self-stimulating process. The Western propaganda machine uses this assertion in an effort to absolve the USA of the responsibility for escalating the arms race, in other words, to cast aspersions on the nations working for peace, declaring that they, too, come under the allegedly "objective" laws of development of modern technology that spur the arms race.

Of course, it would be wrong to deny that there is a reverse link: of course, military technological advances contribute to the perfection or elaboration of new directions in military strategy. Although the arms race is a social phenomenon, it cannot be isolated from the development of military science and technology. The relationship between them springs from the subordination of military tactics and strategy to armaments. Changes in the means of warfare depend on the level of the productive forces, science, and technology, and this in turn influences the forms and methods of warfare and the scale of hostilities.

The question of the direction into which US imperialism pushes the development of sophisticated armaments and military equipment is important because the answer to it shows how US ruling circles visualise the outbreak and conduct of a future war. The US retired Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., notes: "As technological advances throughout history have greatly increased man's ability to wage war, they have also caused him to reassess his strategic and tactical planning to make use of these advances. We now stand on the verge of another such reassessment period."

During the past few decades US imperialism has been laying emphasis on accelerating the development of military technology. This orientation of effort, called "logistical strategy" in American literature, means that the US rulers believe that the road to military superiority lies in the development of fundamentally new or, as they sometimes called them, exotic types and systems of armaments. Colonel Richard G. Head of the US Army writes that "preference for high-value, multipurpose weapons and the desire to substitute technology for manpower can be called an American 'doctrine of quality'". This view is shared by James Fallows, who was an aide in the Carter administration: "In the years since 'research and engineering' came to dominate the Pentagon, more and more of the resources available for defense have been invested in the search for weapons that will make victory automatic."

To automate war and turn all that has been created by human intelligence against humankind are the primary postulates of US imperialism's military doctrines.

How has thinking along these lines been mirrored in the qualitative arms race at the beginning of the 1980s?

The White House and the Pentagon have made the eighties a turning point in their efforts to take the lead in the development of fundamentally new types and systems of armaments.

Need one mention the purpose for which this has been done? As a matter of fact, the answer is to be found in the Republican election platform, which called for the attainment of overwhelming military and technological superiority. It spoke of a basic restructuring of the US strategic nuclear arsenal and the development of weapon systems differing qualitatively from those in service.

The efforts made by Washington produced some results. The significance of the appearance of new types and systems of armaments is not in an improvement of some specifications necessary to fulfil the tasks they were intended for earlier, but in that the *possibility arises of using them for the fulfilment of essentially new tasks*. In other words, the USA has not only achieved technical improvements but laid the foundation for the deployment of a new strategic potential capable of carrying out broader assign-

ments. This is perhaps the principal conclusion that may be drawn at the present time.

In the Warsaw Treaty Organisation's Prague Political Declaration it is noted that the new military programmes advanced by the USA or their allies are indivisibly linked to the escalation of strategic concepts and doctrines—"disarming nuclear first strike", "limited nuclear war", "protracted nuclear conflict", and others.

At the USSR Conference of Scientists for Delivering Humanity From the Threat of Nuclear War, for Disarmament and Peace, held in Moscow on May 17, 1983, Academician Yevgeny Velikhov spoke of the danger of such unrealistic notions. The use of nuclear weapons cannot be evaluated as a sort of diplomatic action in a crisis situation. It would mean crossing the Rubicon and starting an irreversible chain reaction. The use of nuclear weapons would threaten the vital interests of the other side and most likely provoke a maximum retaliatory strike. Nuclear war is not a joint venture nor a game with known rules and limitations, but by virtue of the physical properties of nuclear weapons and the consequences of their use it will be the greatest disaster known to the human race.

The hopes of the US ruling circles of winning a nuclear conflict by means of a "disarming nuclear strike" are, let us put it bluntly, built on sand. In view of the Soviet early warning systems and the combat readiness of the Soviet strategic forces this will not be a "disarming" strike however hard the Pentagon advisers and staffs try.

At this point it would be appropriate to draw attention to the folly of those who are planning annihilating nuclear strikes. Nuclear weapons have not been used on a massive scale, and this means that all the likely consequences—short- and long-term—are unknown. Incidentally, they may impair the effectiveness of nuclear weapons, cut off the dependability of space systems and electronic equipment, and so on. But one thing is for sure and it is that all humankind will suffer horribly.

Yet, in spite of all this, US military and political circles are saying, with amazing irresponsibility, that the USA must have the capability for delivering an all-destroying nuclear first strike. Why? It is not all that simple to answer this question, because it depends on the thought processes of people who are at odds with normal logic. One thing may be assumed as being more or less certain, and it

is that the US ruling circles are hoping that in creating such a potential they will find an effective means of conducting a purely imperialist foreign policy.

What does such a policy hold out?

The 1983 Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation drew attention to the following consequences of the qualitative arms race.

"First, the development and deployment of ever new systems of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction will erode the stability of the military-strategic situation even further, increase international tension and complicate relations between states."

The extent to which this conclusion is correct has been shown by the international political repercussions that were precipitated when US medium-range missiles began to be deployed in some West European countries. This action drastically aggravated the situation in Europe and the rest of the world.

"Second, the new escalation of the arms race contravenes the aim of maintaining the military-strategic parity at ever lower levels... The implementation of the arms build-up programmes will lead to higher levels of military confrontation."

In response to the efforts of the USA and NATO to increase their armaments, the Soviet Union had to take steps to reinforce its own security and that of other socialist countries. It could not have been otherwise, and it was naive to expect the USSR to sit with folded arms. In a statement issued on May 28, 1983 the Soviet government noted: "In view of the mounting threat to the security of the USSR and its allies as a result of the development, manufacture, and deployment of new American strategic land-, sea-, and air-based armaments the Soviet Union has been placed before the necessity of taking counter-measures to strengthen its defence capability by, among other things, deploying the appropriate new strategic systems."

The Soviet Union and its allies have everything they need to prevent a violation of the military-strategic equilibrium, and it will be preserved but, of course, on a higher level. While in the quantitative arms race a time of satiation comes when any further stockpiling of armaments becomes senseless, in the race for quality, in which the prin-

cial indicator is the future development level of military technology, such a limit may not appear. As the level of military confrontation rises it undercuts international stability.

The third point made in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation is that "another round of the arms race will make nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction even more sophisticated. In this way there will be greater difficulties involved in formulating international agreements to limit and reduce them".

The development of military technology has reached a level at which the distinction between different types and systems of armaments is being steadily erased. New conventional weapons systems with nearly the same destructive capability as weapons of mass annihilation are being developed.

In the USA and other NATO countries it has become fashionable to propagandise "automated" and "robotised" war, the possibility of "destroying the enemy by remote control", and other futuristic war scenarios. It is asserted that in future wars will undergo a fundamental change, that they will turn into a sort of rivalry in which victory will go automatically to the country with the higher level of scientific and technological development.

In keeping with the forecasts of this nature, President Reagan declared on March 23, 1983 that his administration was considering speeding up the development of military technology with the purpose of intercepting and destroying strategic ballistic missiles before they reach the territory of the USA or that of its allies. Later he ordered the elaboration of a long-term programme for building an anti-missile defence system in the USA be stepped up.

The actions of the US military, who are eager to put their hands on new types of weapons, are dangerous chiefly because they destabilise the military-strategic situation in the world and nourish the aggressive thrust of US imperialism, as was made clear by the events on Grenada and in Lebanon.

At this point we should like to stress the particular danger of the designs to spread war to outer space, to open up yet another dimension of war—"star war". The creation of the means of destroying enemy missiles and other armaments from space and the conduct of war in space do not merely accentuate the aggressive character of US

military doctrines. They generate mad ideas about it being possible to crush enemy defences without loss to the USA itself. The spatial magnitude of war is thus widened; our planet has become too small for US strategists. They are now thinking in terms of circumterrestrial space and planning to make the war they are contemplating global in the real sense of the word.

While thinking of extending the arms race to outer space the US military-industrial complex is not ignoring terrestrial affairs. A distinguishing feature of recent years has been the steady growth of US arms sales abroad. What place is US imperialism assigning to this commerce in the overall arms race?

Trade in armaments (including sales of weapons and military materials), the training of military personnel of other countries, and other military activity, including the building of military installations on foreign territory have been part and parcel of US foreign policy. The armaments trade or "transfer of armaments" has developed into a sort of "export" of the arms race to the developing countries. At a press conference at West Point devoted to problems of extending military aid, a US State Department spokesman noted that the transfer of armaments is part of foreign policy stemming from the USA's strategic, political, and economic interests.

Deliveries of US weapons to foreign countries may be divided into the following categories: (1) military "aid" proper providing for the gratuitous transfer of armaments and military equipment to reactionary regimes; (2) the programme of arms sales, under which armaments are sold and personnel are trained on credit and as a loan; (3) the programme of extending military assistance allegedly for security purposes on credit or free with the aim of buttressing, to use American terminology, "unstable" regimes; and (4) the sale of military equipment, services, and armaments for cash. The last category yields the fastest and largest profits and therefore has the growing favour of the US military-industrial complex.

In one way or another, all these programmes are controlled by the State Department, and this further underscores their link to US imperialism's foreign policy manoeuvres.

It must be surmised that in each individual case, when armaments are sold to some country, the US government pursues some specific aims. What are these aims?

An attentive observer will indeed quickly see the specific nature of the attitude of US arms suppliers to various countries:

1. Relative to NATO members, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan military aid is regarded as a contribution to the "cumulative strength" of imperialist states. The central purpose of this aid is to combine the West's efforts in the global confrontation with existing socialism.

2. Relative to other countries (the US government has approved a list of 96 countries to which armaments may be sold), the USA pursues a more cautious policy, trying to prevent what it feels will be a disadvantageous reinforcement of the developing nations' defence capability. But this does not apply to Israel, South Africa, and some others ruled by reactionary or conservative regimes.

According to the US Defense Department, in fiscal 1978 the US sold armaments worth \$13.3 billion, of which \$2.3 billion's worth went to NATO members. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute estimates that in 1984 the USA accounted for 48 per cent of the total arms sales in the world, and for 41 per cent of the weapons sold to developing countries.

When people, including Americans, speak of the aims of this massive arms trade, they usually name a wide spectrum of interests: from "national security" to economic, moral, political, and other interests. The Western analyst L. Mayer systematises the views of US scientists and political leaders about the aims pursued by the USA in selling arms and extending "military aid" as follows.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Strategic balance | 8. Defence industry |
| 2. Basic rights | 9. Standardisation |
| 3. Allied support | 10. US influence |
| 4. Regional balance | 11. Containing the growth of Soviet strength |
| 5. Preventing nuclear proliferation | 12. Human rights |
| 6. Balance of payments | 13. Domestic stability |
| 7. Oil requirements | |

In Mayer's list the eye-catching aims are far-fetched, to say the least. What relationship has commerce in armaments, for instance, to basic rights or human rights or the desire to prevent nuclear proliferation? This high-flown language is used, of course, to further complicate the problem and whitewash the actions by the "death dealers".

As regards the others, they are, in their own way, indicative, reflecting the striving of the US government to use arms sales to reinforce the external and domestic positions of US imperialism.

Where do US arms flow?

During the early postwar years deliveries of US armaments went mainly to NATO countries and nations bordering on the USSR. In most cases "military aid" was gratuitous: it was paid for out of special funds or out of the US Defense Department's budget. The armaments in those years were chiefly equipment that had accumulated during World War II, written off or taken out of service. Later these deliveries began to consist of new and then of the latest types of weaponry. In the period between 1950 and 1972, the USA gave its NATO allies and countries that had bilateral relations with it \$36.2 billion's worth of armaments and military equipment and sold \$17.5 billion's worth.

In terms of quantity this amounted to 21,000 aircraft, 1,600 helicopters, 61,000 missiles, 2,800 ships and auxiliary vessels, nearly 40,000 tanks, and over 5,000 self-propelled guns.

In the 1960s, without ceasing supplies to its direct allies, the USA began supplying weapons to conservative pro-US regimes in order to help them fight the mounting national liberation movement. During these years US armaments were sent mainly to South Vietnam, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and the Philippines. Unlike the gratuitous assistance of the 1950s, during that period Washington began to demand cash payment.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, South Vietnam, where patriots were confronted by puppet and US troops, was the principal recipient of US "military aid". By the latter half of 1971, South Vietnam had received, among other armaments, 640,000 automatic rifles, 20,000 heavy mortars, 34,000 grenade-throwers, 870 pieces of artillery, 210 tanks, 1,000 armoured carriers, and 44,000 military

vehicles. The re-equipment of the South Vietnamese navy and air force proceeded rapidly. By 1971, the South Vietnamese navy had 1,600 vessels, becoming a world naval power. Prior to the 1970s, the South Vietnamese air force had only 400 aircraft, and these were powered by piston engines. By the beginning of 1972, however, it had increased to 1,000 units, thus becoming the sixth largest air force in the world. Just before the Paris accords were signed, the USA hastily transferred an additional number of 150 tanks and armoured carriers to South Vietnam and over 500 combat aircraft and helicopters. But these enormous resources invested by US imperialism in the Vietnamese gamble did not save it from defeat and only accentuated the fact that in our time no force can put back the clock.

In the 1980s, US armaments flowed mainly to Israel and conservative Arab regimes. This speedily resulted in a deterioration of the situation in the Middle East and in tragedy for the Lebanese, Palestinian, and other peoples who fell victim to US imperialism's aggressive ambitions. The world thus witnessed the close relationship between US arms sales and its international policies. Earlier it had been witness to another example in connection with the proclamation of the notorious Nixon doctrine, which was permeated with political cynicism—the USA supplied armaments while its clients provided the manpower to fight the national liberation movement. In terms of cash, the volume of US arms sales leaped from \$4 to 11 billion, chiefly at the expense of developing nations. US business turned the blood of other nations into hard cash.

Much of the arms supplies is effected by private companies. Their merchandise goes to, among others, the police in South Korea, Chile, and Zaire, i.e., countries whose repressive regimes have acquired world-wide notoriety. Altogether, in the period from 1960 to 1966 the USA sold \$12 billion's worth of armaments for cash.

A large portion of this sum came from newly free countries with weak economies. The bourgeois researcher L. Martin notes that Third World countries pay a high economic and political price for the armaments they buy. In terms of money, their arms imports increase annually by 9 per cent, while their GNP shows an annual 5 per cent growth. Armaments devour funds so badly needed by these countries to promote their economy. But this is not the only negative effect. US armaments are sold on terms making

the recipient countries more dependent on US imperialism and, in many cases, clapping them into invisible but nonetheless solid political fetters. The imperialist arms merchants—the USA, France, Britain, the FRG, and Italy—are harnessing developing nations to their chariot. Of the 82 states receiving armaments, more than two-thirds are enmeshed in a web of agreements that reach far beyond “purely” commercial transactions, in which the “merchandise” consists of weapons.

What are the effects of arms sales on the international situation?

It may be said with certainty that the acquisition of armaments plays a role in increasing tension and in speeding up the outbreak of wars, states the report of the UN Secretary-General. The sinister aspect of imperialist policy linked to the supply of armaments is that it spurs armed rivalry, giving rise to and instigating regional races that often end in conflict between rival states.

Also, there is always a threat of the country supplying armaments becoming involved in military conflicts “along the periphery”, provoked by imperialist powers. Drawn into the donor’s sphere of interests (which is precisely what the latter wants), the recipient nations are turned into pawns in the political game of their senior partners. It is not hard to see a direct link between increases in the supplies of armaments and an accentuation of conflict situations. As evidence of such tendencies, the report of the UN Secretary-General points out that, on the average, in every two or three cases of transfers of large amounts of armaments the interference of the supplier in an ongoing conflict has been a factor influencing its outcome.

This conclusion acquires special significance if it is compared with the proposition advanced by the Hungarian analyst István Kende, who believes that “*the main type of war in our age is the war fought within the boundaries of a single country with the aim to overthrow a given regime or government... Predominant are... wars waged with the participation of the forces of foreign countries.*” In other words, commerce in armaments performs one more role, namely, as imperialism’s instrument for preserving or planting what it sees as desirable regimes in developing nations.

A very grave danger lies in directing the arms race be-

tween developing nations into the channel of quality. During the past ten years there has been a growth of the sale of the most sophisticated types of weapons. The reason for this is that in its effort to widen the market and maximise profits the US military-industrial complex has gone over to the sale of the latest types of military hardware. The UN Secretary-General's report on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military spending noted that although the proportion of used and surplus equipment remains large, an ever greater part of the sales are of the latest types of equipment. In some cases export contracts are carried out even before the exporting country supplies its own armed forces.

The following table gives an idea of how the supplies of modern weaponry to developing nations have been growing.

Sales of Sophisticated US Armaments to Developing Countries
(*\$ million at 1975 exchange rate*)

1959	1966	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
326	514	1,244	1,258	1,179	1,166	1,061	1,400	2,343	3,892	3,425	5,800

The geographical expansion of the arms race is not today the only consequence of the sale of the latest types of military equipment to developing countries. It also speeds up the overall race. Transactions of this kind give the US military-industrial complex additional resources for covering a proportion of their production costs and, as a result, can accelerate the manufacture of improved types of military equipment. This specific of the commerce in armaments has been noted in the report of the UN Secretary-General.

Is anything being done internationally to limit the sale of armaments?

In his election campaign Carter called for "restraint" in the export of armaments. He promised to place some limits on the quantity of armaments sold abroad. However, the reservation was made that this did not concern the USA's NATO allies, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Israel, and some other countries.

The Soviet Union responded affirmatively to the idea of

restricting the sale of weaponry in the context of slowing down the arms race without any impingement on the rights of peoples to freedom and national sovereignty. The relevant talks were started between the USSR and the USA, but a year later they were suspended by Washington.

Carter quickly forgot his promise to reduce commerce in armaments. As regards the Reagan administration, the following statistics speak for themselves: according to official figures, the volume of arms exports was \$11.4 billion in 1977, \$13.6 billion in 1978, \$13.1 billion in 1979 (with account of the loss of the huge contracts signed by the former Shah of Iran), over \$14 billion in 1980, and between \$25 and \$30 billion in 1983. Washington has done all in its power to use the export of armaments and military services as an instrument of imperialist foreign policy.

Has the Reagan administration introduced anything new into the commerce in armaments?

After Reagan took over the White House all formal limitations were lifted and the conditions were created for a further expansion of the export of US military hardware. These actions harmonise entirely with the bellicose plans of the administration, which has proclaimed a "crusade" against communism and, in fact, against all other forces of progress. During the first three years of Reagan's presidency arms exports doubled to reach a sum between \$25 and \$30 billion.

US military "aid" is being sent increasingly to the world's "nerve" centres. One of these is the Middle East. For that reason among the Pentagon's biggest clients we see Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, which are the recipients of almost four-fifths of all US arms deliveries.

In recent years buyer-countries have significantly expanded their contacts with the USA's competitors—France, Britain, the FRG, and Italy—and are now using this as a political weapon against the USA. This is an indication of the appearance of a new sphere of inter-imperialist contradictions.

In evaluating the world situation one should not discount the fact that there is another socio-political system, existing socialism, whose policy, including its stand in regard to developing nations, is a powerful counter-balance to imperialism and aggression. Hence the greater freedom of manoeuvre for developing countries.

The revolution in Iran, the war in the South Atlantic, and many other developments have shown that armaments may not be used for the purposes for which they were sold. The situation is being compounded by the fact that arms can be bought through "third parties". Thus, we are getting a situation in which it will be impossible to forecast how and for what purpose various armaments may be used. In exporting the arms race to the new nations, the USA is, at the same time, exporting poverty and unemployment. For most of the developing countries military expenditures spell out the erosion of their economies. By arming some countries, Washington is compelling others to arm, thereby precipitating arms races on a regional scale.

Why is US imperialism showing such reverence for the neutron weapon?

For over 20 years the Pentagon has been toying with the idea of developing this inhuman weapon, put forward in 1958 by the American nuclear scientist Samuel Cohen. In the 1960s, foreign policy decision-makers in Washington felt that it was in the USA's interest to maintain a clear distinction between nuclear and non-nuclear weapons. The overriding view at the time was that to use the neutron bomb would mean stepping across the nuclear threshold and exposing the world, including the USA, to the danger of nuclear war.

In the latter half of the 1970s and in the early 1980s, the beginning was laid for the moral and political brainwashing of the American people to get them to accept the thought that there might be a nuclear war. Then followed Presidential Directive 59 proclaiming that the USA had adopted the doctrine of "limited" nuclear wars.

Taking into account that the former "deterrence" doctrine was identified with a devastating nuclear war and, consequentially, with the impermissibility of such a war, the Reagan directive of August 6, 1981, which gave the green light to the manufacture of neutron bombs, signified a radical change in the thinking of the US ruling circles. It was a tilt towards acceptance of nuclear war as a means of achieving US imperialism's global objectives. The US foreign policy doctrine is now based on a demonstrative readiness to use nuclear weapons, including neutron bombs.

Blackmail by US leaders is no novelty. It has always been part of imperialist policy and had time and again precipitated conflicts between nations, including armed conflicts. In our day, however, blackmail, especially nuclear blackmail, is fraught with immeasurable danger to mankind.

The least that can be said about the talk of the "purity" of the neutron bomb, which allegedly leaves no deadly radioactivity after it is exploded, is that it is a mockery of scientific conscience and intelligence. The neutron bomb is quite rightly seen as a weapon symbolising the system that prizes ownership above human life.

The USA's strategic nuclear systems can be activated only with the permission of the President. By including the neutron bomb in the category of a tactical weapon, the US leadership shifts the responsibility for the use of nuclear weapons to field commanders. Thus, any high-handed or unbalanced American warrior can press the button that would start a nuclear war.

It is maintained by Washington that the neutron bomb is a "humane", "clean" weapon, capable of "strengthening peace" for it is directed against the armoured forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. Is this correct reasoning?

The neutron warhead is a variety of a nuclear weapon with a heightened pervasive radiation—neutron radioactivity. This radioactivity affects the living organism biologically. For that reason the neutron weapon is designated chiefly for the annihilation of people and is thus seen as the most barbarous means of mass destruction. The assertion that the neutron bomb is "clean" is untenable. Those who say this deliberately by-pass the question of beamed radiation under the impact of a powerful current of neutrons, which is highly dangerous to living organisms.

With the explosion of a one-kiloton neutron bomb the neutron-beamed radiation on the surface layer of the soil, on metal structures, and in food products will be about 10 times greater than in the case of an ordinary nuclear explosion of the same yield. Attention to this was drawn in August 1977 at the Pugwash movement's Munich conference, which was attended by over 200 scientists from 47 countries. The report of the movement's Secretary-General

stated that "the neutrons will eventually be absorbed in the ground and other materials in the vicinity of their release, and in the air as well, leaving behind appreciable long-lived radioactivity".

An aspect of the neutron bomb, referred to by US military experts who claim it is an anti-war weapon, is its ability to pierce armour. Consequently, assert the proponents of this weapon, neutron warheads can be used effectively against tank and motorised troops of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in Europe. While making this claim, these NATO strategists deliberately hold back the fact that the use of the neutron bombs in densely populated regions of Western Europe will inevitably spell out the mass extermination of the civilian population. As regards the crews in tanks and other armoured vehicles, they can be protected quite effectually by special materials, mentioned by US specialists themselves, for instance, multilayered combined fabrics.

What has been and is being done by the world community to prevent the deployment of neutron weapons?

The problem of banning the manufacture of neutron weapons and delivering Europe from the threat of their deployment and use has not been resolved despite powerful protests by international public opinion.

It will be recalled that the Soviet Union has proposed a mutual renunciation of the manufacture of neutron weapons. On March 14, 1978 it submitted a relevant draft international convention, but to this day there has been no affirmative reply from the USA and its NATO allies.

Pronouncements by many US statesmen make it clear that the USA is bent on deploying neutron bombs in Europe. US Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, said he believed that the abrupt change of posture to a decision not to take this bomb for armament was a mistake. The possibilities this weapon opened up for strengthening theatre nuclear forces were so great, he declared, that the USA would in all likelihood want to use it. He was seconded by General Bernard Rogers, Supreme Commander of the NATO Allied Forces in Europe: "We need the neutron bomb: I personally would like to have such a bomb."

In an effort to calm the indignation that swept across the world as a result of the Reagan decision to begin the full-scale manufacture of this weapon, the government in Washington has had recourse to deceit, declaring that neutron warheads would be stored on US territory and that the "neutron issue is a purely internal affair" of the USA. But it is obvious to everybody that these warheads can be quickly airlifted en masse to Western Europe.

A TASS statement stressed that the USSR was prepared to agree to a ban on neutron weapons on the basis of the relevant draft convention it had submitted, together with its allies, to the Disarmament Committee in 1978. However, it was stated that in reply to steps taken by the USA the USSR would be compelled to institute the proper measures to reinforce its defence and the defence of its allies.

On the socialist countries' initiative, the 36th UN General Assembly passed a resolution condemning the plans for manufacturing neutron weapons. This resolution said that the General Assembly shared the world-wide alarm relative to the production and planned deployment of nuclear neutron weapons and that it was requesting the Disarmament Committee in Geneva to begin talks without delay with the purpose of concluding a convention prohibiting the manufacture, stockpiling, deployment, and use of neutron weapons. A prestigious international organisation thus unequivocally declared itself in favour of banning this weapon of mass annihilation.

It is still not too late to avoid the dangerous situation that can arise with the appearance of neutron weapons in Western Europe. The possibility still exists of renouncing the decisions earlier adopted by the USA or freezing their implementation.

In summing up the "neutron problem", let us recall the main arguments presented by the USSR and its allies in favour of banning this weapon:

- the neutron bomb is an inhuman weapon of mass annihilation designed for aggressive action, for attack;
- the deployment of this weapon in Europe is incompatible with the interests of detente and with the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference;
- such deployment will inevitably evoke counter-measures with the result that the arms race will rise to a new and more dangerous level;

— the appearance of the neutron weapon in Europe would inescapably lower the threshold of the outbreak of a nuclear conflict;

— the adoption of the neutron weapon as an armament would have a destabilising effect on the situation in Europe.

We have so far spoken of weapons of mass destruction. What is the US leadership's line relative to conventional weapons?

Conventional weapons hold a similarly important place in Washington's military plans. Suffice it to say that up to 85 per cent of the US military budget is annually allocated for non-nuclear forces. This is due to the fact that the Pentagon regards these forces as realistically usable, as a lever of pressure applicable at any time and in any place in the world. In short, the imperialist political leaders see definite advantages in building up non-nuclear armaments.

According to the official NATO and US doctrine of "flexible response", military operations can be started by using conventional weapons. This is the primary premise of Pentagon planning. It also explains why in the West one hears voices urging to increase the flexibility of the US and NATO military machine. These are a smokescreen for the feverish efforts made by the USA and its allies to achieve conventional armaments superiority over the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community.

Some of imperialism's military theorists are preaching a renovated "sword and shield" doctrine, in which the "shield" would be the USA's strategic forces, and the "sword" would be conventional weapons and operational-tactical nuclear systems. This approach affects the direction of the arms race started by US imperialism. The USA is developing new and modernising existing types of armaments as well as operational-tactical nuclear missiles, which Washington plans to use also as part of non-nuclear weaponry. An example (and it is far from being the only one) is the USA's introduction into Western Europe of nuclear warheads for Lance missiles and the new MK-61 bombs.

In the opinion of US military and political leaders the new types of conventional weapons are making it possible

to solve both political and military tasks differently. On the political level they provide more possibilities for using military force as an instrument of foreign policy and a means of settling international disputes. From time to time it is asserted in Washington that with the appearance of new types of weapons it is now possible to resolve political problems that had earlier been out of reach to US imperialism. They are not only saying this but also acting in this direction, illustrations of this being the US aggressions against Grenada, Lebanon, and Nicaragua.

Imperialist military thought habitually exaggerates the role of weaponry in modern warfare. Klaus Knorr, a reputed academic in the USA, wrote back in 1956 that "when immense advances are being made in the technology of weapons, a decisive superiority in weapons and in their tactical employment may well offset, and perhaps more than offset, any inferiority in the size of the armed forces". The failure of the US aggression in Indochina and of the USA's attempts to achieve imperialism's aims in Lebanon by means of military strength have introduced corrections into these arguments.

It has been reported in the press that the latest types of weapons of mass destruction are being tested on human beings. How much truth is there in these reports?

There is much evidence nourishing these suspicions.

After Robert Sheridan, a US serviceman, died under mysterious circumstances, eight more men in his former military unit died suddenly. The circumstances under which all these soldiers died were identical. This induced Robert's parents, David and Emilia Sheridan of New York State, to compel an inquiry into these circumstances. It was found that all nine had, before their death, been treated with Dapson, which was being developed in the Pentagon's secret military medical laboratories. A US Defense Department official told Sheridan's parents that the case could not be discussed because classified information was involved. The court likewise refused to handle the case, despite the fact that everyone agreed that it was a matter of deliberate murder.

American public opinion now knows that the death of Robert Sheridan and the other soldiers was not a solitary

instance of this kind in the US Armed Forces. The Pentagon has long been using American citizens to test chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons. Secret documents of the US Defense Department acquired by journalists have revealed the mystery of some puzzling epidemics in New York, San Francisco, and other US cities. It has come to light, for instance, that several years ago US Navy vessels in San Francisco Bay sprayed the water with microbes, which caused an outbreak of serious lung disease in the city. A number of people died.

In June 1966 the New York subway was sprayed with some species of bacteria in order to determine the possibility of using them for "offensive purposes".

In 1976 twenty delegates to an American Legion convention died of infection in a Philadelphia hotel. This infection has never been identified.

The death of E. Maggy, an Afro-American, helped to lay bare the kind of work being done in the US Air Force laboratory in Oakland (California). It has since become known that Air Force biologists and personnel of the University of California are secretly developing means of biological warfare. One of these means consists of bacilli of a mysterious "valley fever", which causes particularly serious after-effects and sometimes the death of people of African and Asian origin. One of the first victims of this "valley fever" was the laboratory watchman E. Maggy, who was infected with the lethal bacilli.

Plans of fighting bacteriological or chemical wars have long been denounced as criminal by the world community. On the initiative of socialist countries, the UN sponsored an international convention banning the development and manufacture of bacteriological (biological) weapons. In 1969, to avoid criticism of the US stand in the United Nations President Nixon decreed the destruction of the Pentagon's stockpiles of bacteriological weapons. But this decree proved to be nothing more than a demagogical gesture that did not stop the development of such types of weapons of mass destruction by the US military. CIA documents declassified in 1974 showed that "valley fever" pathogens, poisons obtained from mussels, and pathogens of Siberian ulcer, tuberculosis, and some other bacteria and toxins had been excluded from the list of matters whose stockpiles were subject to destruction in accordance with the presidential decree.

In the 1960s over 1,500 Americans—servicemen and civilians—were treated with mind-control narcotics. One of them was M. Calvin Sweet, who filed a suit demanding compensation for the moral and physical damage inflicted on him while he was in the Armed Forces. In 1957 he was forcibly injected with the powerful LSD narcotic. The “experiment” ended in tragedy for him. At age 43, he testified, he was suffering from paranoia, schizophrenia, and chronic depression. He lost his family and the ability to work. The court rejected his suit with reference to an Act, passed in 1950, that absolved the government of responsibility for injury received by personnel of the Armed Forces.

At the US Apugi base in Japan, the CIA conducted experiments with LSD in the 1950s. Experiments on personnel went on until the beginning of the 1960s. In order to keep its criminal experiments secret, the CIA destroys those who can in anyway expose its actions. A clergyman named George Peters was murdered in Los Angeles on November 6, 1982. He had been working on a documentary exposing the CIA’s experiments in the use of behaviour modification narcotics.

The Pentagon sanctioned criminal experiments on human beings during the dirty war in Vietnam. The “guinea pigs” were not only Vietnamese but also American servicemen, who became victims of the Agent Orange defoliant.

Experiments on human beings were also conducted with bacteriological weapons. A scandal erupted in the USA in the spring of 1982, when the US journal *Covert Action* reported a “mysterious incident” in the Army Latterman Research Institute, where bacteriological research is conducted. Some staff members of this institute’s laboratory in San Francisco had contracted a strange kind of fever. The authorities quickly hushed this up.

Large-scale experiments are conducted on fellow-citizens by Pentagon experts working on nuclear weapons. It is impossible to establish the number of Americans who died of cancer or some other grave disease contracted in “experiments”. The press writes of tens and even hundreds of thousands of cases. In only the period from 1945 to 1963 the US military deliberately subjected nearly half a million servicemen to radioactive radiation. Without any protection these servicemen were taken to the vicinity of nuclear explosions and housed two or three kilometres from their epicentres in zones of high radioactivity. It has been estimated

by interested American organisations that the number of victims of such criminal "experiments" has reached roughly one million.

Howard L. Rosenberg, a well-known American author and journalist, who wrote the book *Atomic Soldiers: American Victims of Nuclear Experiments*, said in a press interview that for the past 25 years the US government had deliberately concealed how nuclear tests were being conducted, the purpose of these tests, the reasons for submitting thousands of Americans to radioactive radiation, and how they were now faring. Citing government documents, Rosenberg declared that the government had from the outset been thoroughly informed of the mortal risk to enlisted men who were used as "guinea pigs" at nuclear proving grounds.

Rosenberg carried out his own investigation and established that apart from the Pentagon experiments were being conducted on human beings by two other governmental agencies: the US Atomic Energy Commission and NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration). By their status, these agencies have nothing to do with medicine, but for 10 years (from 1964 to 1974) they worked on a programme of experiments to ascertain how large doses of radiation affect the human organism. The US Atomic Energy Commission conducted its experiments in a clinic in Oak Ridge, Tennessee. One of the "experimenters" acknowledged that patients of this clinic virtually "bathed in a sea of radioactivity". Nearly 200 people became the victims of these experiments. Not even children were spared. Three-year-old Dwyne Sexton died a month after getting a huge dose of radiation in this clinic.

Moreover, the Atomic Energy Commission conducted experiments on prisoners. In the 1963-1973 period 131 persons were treated with radioactive rays in prisons in the states of Washington and Oregon. Some were given as much as 100 rads (400 rads is regarded as a lethal dose). At the University of Cincinnati research has been conducted on sick people. Most of these "experimental rabbits" were poor people admitted to the university's clinic free of charge. The experimenters claimed that their victims were "terminally ill". Many of them did indeed die with the help of these "doctors".

According to reports in the American press the Pentagon has no intention of halting "experiments" on human beings.

What is implied by the USA's plans for a chemical war in Europe?

We have already noted that the American General Bernard Rogers, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, is suggesting an orientation on "conventional" weapons. In enlarging upon his plans, General Rogers is raising the question of producing chemical weapons on a mass scale. From the December 1982 communique of the NATO Defense Planning Committee it follows that under the plan for building up the NATO armed forces for 1983-1987 the USA is planning to modernise its chemical weapons in the FRG. As the journal *Der Spiegel* writes, these weapons are to be the "fourth element" supplementing the NATO "tryad" of conventional and tactical and strategic nuclear weapons.

The US Armed Forces have included in their arsenal toxins of all the existing basic groups: nerve-paralysing, skin-affecting, general poisonous, and strangulating. In recent years the US military have been showing an interest in this weapon's psycho-chemical effects.

The toxins favoured most by the Pentagon are nerve-paralysing and psycho-chemical. The nerve-paralysing toxins include zarin and zoman, that were developed in Nazi Germany, and the VX gas developed by US chemists. These toxins affect the human being's nervous system, causing paralysis and, as a result, death. According to the foreign press, the VX gas is 100-1,000 times more deadly than other toxins. It penetrates through unprotected parts of the body's skin and for that reason even gas-masks are ineffective.

Psycho-chemical toxins affect the central nervous system, disrupting human mental activity and causing temporary blindness, deafness, a sense of fear, and a limitation on impellent functions. The US military have already tested these functions on Americans in the dispersal of mass actions in the USA. At international discussions of the question of banning chemical weapons US official representatives, acting on instructions from the Pentagon, try to prove that the use of toxins of this type is legitimate for the "maintenance of law and order".

The USA has tested and continues to test LSD and other narcotics with the aim of using them as toxins. Such tests, with human beings as the guinea pigs, began as early as the 1950s in the Chemical Warfare Laboratory at Edgewood, Maryland. Experiments on human beings were also conduct-

ed at US military bases in Western Europe and in the Pacific.

The US Armed Forces have included in their arsenal infamous toxins such as mustard gas, prussic acid, and phosphogene. US military doctrine makes allowance for all conceivable methods of using toxins for the annihilation of manpower, the seizure of territory, and the poisoning of water and food. All suitable means have been adapted for this: missiles, shells, bombs, mines, and pouring devices. One Honest John missile can carry up to 240 kilos of toxin and a Sergeant missile can take up to 190 kilos. Chemical bombs weigh from 10 to 400 kilos. Artillery can hit targets with toxin-carrying shells from 105- and 155-mm howitzers, 106.7-mm mortars, and 45-barrel rocket installations.

Washington strategists cynically declare that chemical weapons are the most "effective" means of destruction. To kill one soldier in the course of hostilities it took an average of over 18 tons of fragmentation-demolition ammunition, over a ton of napalm, or only several tens of kilos of toxin. This quantity is more than enough, because under "ideal" conditions one kilo of zarin is sufficient to kill a million people. Another danger is that chemical weapons are easily made and cheap: a kilo of toxin of the VX type is estimated at only five dollars.

In explaining his plan for fighting a war in Europe, General Rogers declared that it takes into account some aspects of the Airland Battle concept enunciated in M 100-5, the new field regulations of the US Army. It states that the army must be prepared to use conventional, nuclear, and chemical weapons, to inflict "pre-emptive strikes".

This is illustrative of a desire to nullify all the efforts that have been made by the public at wide to eliminate the threat of chemical warfare. Evidently the White House would like people to forget the 1,300,000 victims of gas attacks in the First World War, the tens of thousands of Vietnamese who came under the effects of 11 million gallons of Agent Orange sprayed during the war in Indochina, the 40,000 malformed children born to US veterans of the war in Vietnam, where the latter were subjected to chemicals, and the many hundreds of other people who died or are dying today from toxins made in the USA.

To justify its disgraceful preparations for chemical warfare, the government in Washington argues that the USA is "hopelessly behind" the Soviet Union in chemical weapon-

ry. Yet the US has been preparing for chemical warfare in the course of several decades. In only 1982 the USA spent approximately 445 million dollars and in 1983 as much as 810 million dollars on the development and manufacture of chemical weapons.

The Pentagon now has the world's largest stockpiles of highly-toxic substances. These stockpiles are enough to enable 50 US divisions to engage in chemical warfare for 100 days. In the depots at many US military bases on foreign territory there are today from 150,000 to 300,000 tons of ammunition, three million artillery shells, several thousand bombs and hundreds of thousands of mines stuffed with toxins. In the USA itself the depots hold nearly 700,000 chemical shells. The US monthly *Armed Forces Journal* has acknowledged that it would take more than 200 years to render them harmless.

The Pentagon leaders boast that US troops are prepared for chemical warfare in any part of the world not only with old and known but fundamentally new types of chemical weapons whose destructive action is based on the use of two (hence the term "binary") non-toxic or low-toxin-content components, which when mixed enter into a chemical reaction that produces a powerful toxin. The components of these substances are contained in ammunition separately from one another and mix only when fired at a target.

The true reason for this heightened interest in binary ammunition is betrayed by the striving to ensure maximum secrecy in the manufacture, transportation, and storage of toxins, to make them inaccessible for verification in the event the relevant international agreements on banning chemical weapons are signed. It is true that each of the two components of a binary warhead can be handled safely, and this means that there is no need for special technical means of safety that could have unmasking indications. The fact that it is simple to ensure safety in the handling of the components of binary toxins makes it possible, in the view of foreign experts, to adapt "civilian" chemical plants quickly for the production of these components.

The "chemical build-up" is part of the USA's overall plan to achieve military superiority and prepare for a war with the use of all means of mass destruction in any, including local, conflict.

The nature of chemical weapons places them in the same category as nuclear armaments and evokes the disgust of

Europeans because it is designated for densely-populated Europe where, according to the plans laid by the US generals, it is to be a first-strike weapon along with nuclear missiles. This prospect is giving rise to open resistance in countries that are the USA's junior partners in NATO.

Moreover, public concern is being increased by the fact that the USA was the only country of the UN's 157 member-states to vote against a resolution calling for abstention from the production and deployment of new types of chemical weapons and from the stationing of such weapons where they are today non-existent.

How are the plans of the US military for deploying chemical weapons affecting the US posture at the disarmament talks?

The stand adopted by the US administration has become the main impediment to progress at all international forums on banning and destroying chemical weapons. This stand was to blame, for instance, for the suspension of the USSR-USA negotiations on banning chemical weapons; it is blocking constructive work in the Disarmament Committee; the US delegation is opposing the adoption in the UN of a resolution to outlaw chemical weapons.

Judging from reports in the American press, the USA intends to continue doing everything to prevent the prohibition of chemical weapons, to block the negotiations on this urgent issue so as to be able to proceed with the introduction of new, chiefly binary, types of weapons.

What is the stand of the Soviet Union on this matter?

In addition to warnings that a disaster is threatening, the USSR and the other socialist-community countries are making every effort to prevent this disaster. They are tirelessly calling for an end to the production of chemical weapons and for a ban on them.

The USSR is steadfastly complying with the commitments under the 1925 Geneva Protocol (incidentally, it was ratified by the USA only in 1975). On June 18, 1952 the USSR submitted to the UN General Assembly a draft resolution urging the signing of the 1925 Geneva Protocol by all nations that had not yet signed it. On March 30, 1971

the delegations of seven socialist countries submitted to the Disarmament Committee a draft convention on the complete prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and on their destruction. The draft was approved by the UN General Assembly.

In a declaration issued in May 1980 the Warsaw Treaty member-states called upon the USA and the other NATO countries to join them in businesslike, constructive negotiations with the aim of achieving tangible results, namely, a total ban on the development, storage, stockpiling, and use of chemical weapons. At the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament, held in 1982, the USSR put forward a draft headed "Basic Provisions of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction". Regrettably, nothing came of this on account of the Reagan administration's opposition to all efforts to resume the chemical weapons ban talks that had been going on between the USSR and the USA and broken off by the White House in 1980.

What are "ethnic weapons"?

US Army manuals speak of the possibility of developing "ethnic weapons" that will take account of natural differences in the vulnerability of different groups of the population.

For almost a century humankind's finest minds worked on the problem of safeguarding the human race from devastating epidemics and thereby delivering people from grief and suffering. Step by step, at the cost of incredible effort and outlays, sometimes of human lives, scientists conquered many epidemic diseases. However, there are scientists working for the US military developing weapons that selectively destroy certain categories of the population. Among these a variety is called the "ethnic weapon", which functions on the basis of the natural biochemical distinctions between population groups (blood groups, skin pigmentation, and other distinctions linked to the geographical location, food habits, and so on). Weapons of this kind would bring a definite ethnic group under the action of chemical, biological, or other weapons. At a meeting of the American Chemical Society in Los Angeles in April 1974 Prof. R. Hammerslag read a paper indicating that the Pentagon

was studying the possibilities for using an "ethnic weapon". According to the professor, such a weapon could wipe out between 25 and 30 per cent of a country's population.

A paper based on CIA documents declassified in 1975 and published by the public organisation Chair of Scientology notes that in the USA scientists have long been working on this type of weapon.

Such work was started in 1978 also at the notorious Fort Detrin, which is the site not only of a Pentagon bacteriological centre but also of a US Health Department laboratory. It is there that unpredictably dangerous experiments have been conducted in recent years in the field of gene coupling. The technology that has lately been developed allows "programming" viruses to inflict cancer and other dangerous diseases on animals.

An "ethnic weapon" is being developed at the US Air Force laboratory in Oakland, California. At that laboratory it was established that Rift Valley fever strikes people of all races but that it is especially dangerous and even lethal to African and Asian peoples.

The characteristics of Latin American Indians have come under close scrutiny. It has been established that the organs of taste of Brazilian Indians do not distinguish between various forms of bitters with the result that it is hard for them to distinguish the taste of bitter but disease-carrying substances. It must be borne in mind that there is some Indian blood in the majority of the population of Latin American countries.

The South African racists have been quick to appreciate the advantages of weapons possessing "a selective ethnic factor". According to the Ghanaian newspaper *Echo*, US experts are giving South Africa every assistance in the development of an "ethnic weapon". This joint research is being conducted at the laboratories of the South African Air Force Institute of Medical Research in Pretoria. In a closely-guarded top-secret laboratory in the north of Transvaal Province racist experts are studying the viruses of diseases that are practically harmless to whites and fatal to Coloureds and Africans.

The use of the barbarous "ethnic weapon" would be an abomination. Yet in the war ministries of the imperialist powers there are people working with cold calculation to develop yet another kind of death for humankind—neutron, chemical, or ethnic.

What task is US imperialism assigning to the Central Command (CENTCOM)?

CENTCOM is an instrument of US neocolonialism. Its sphere of operation embraces 19 sovereign non-aligned Asian and African states, the Middle East, and also a large part of the Indian Ocean, including the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

It stemmed from the Rapid Deployment Force formed allegedly to defend the oil sources in this area, which the USA has declared a "sphere of vital interests", while in the US government's global strategy this is called the "third central strategic zone" after Western Europe and the Far East.

CENTCOM is a big stick of the present-day colonialists, and Washington sees the need for it as a means of keeping developing nations within its sphere of influence, controlling their natural resources, and using their territories for its strategic aims. The new command has a personnel of nearly 230,000 effectives. The US press expects its numerical strength to almost double in the immediate future to make it second only to US military presence in Europe. CENTCOM has air-borne and air-assault divisions, three aircraft-carrier task forces, marine units, and 350 aircraft, including B-52 bombers.

Most of CENTCOM's forces are based on US territory. But these have a large springboard also in the new command's geographical zone of operation—this consists of a network of US bases and strongpoints. For instance, in the Indian Ocean the US has more than 25 such installations. These are mostly at the Diego Garcia strategic base where nuclear and chemical weapons are deployed. Already now this base has several depot ships carrying sufficient armaments and ammunition to keep an expeditionary marine brigade supplied for a month's hostilities. There are plans to triple these supplies. CENTCOM forces can use as bridge-heads the US bases and strongpoints in Oman, Kenya, Somalia, Israel, Egypt, Bahrain, Australia, and the Philippines.

A US permanent force in the Indian Ocean consists of two aircraft carriers with 180 aircraft on board, three submarines, and tens of escort vessels. This is also a springboard of the Rapid Deployment Force. The means of transporting the new command's forces are being constantly im-

proved. Acting on the tide of chauvinistic hysteria, the Pentagon has secured approval for its long-planned programme for building military sea-borne transports—depot ships carrying heavy armaments for the Rapid Deployment Force. This programme calls for the building of 14 such vessels with a displacement of 49,000 tons each. The Pentagon intends to build a fleet of transports (up to 100 units) to carry heavy armaments for CENTCOM. The transport aircraft for airlifting CENTCOM forces include heavy C-5A Galaxy military transport planes and the medium C-141 Starlifter and C-130 Hercules.

The setting-up of a new command signifies that the USA is moving from reliance on individual military bases and strongpoints to the formation of larger springboards of aggression. In fact, it is building up an interventionist rapid deployment force that can reach any part of the world. The 19 countries in the new command's sphere of operation and the territory of neighbouring states are in fact a sort of proving ground for the development of forcible methods of impinging on the vital interests of nations for the sake of US imperialism's "vital interests".

CENTCOM is one more manifestation of US imperialism's bellicose hegemonism, evidence of imperialism's striving to change the balance of strength in the world in its favour, slow down and stop the onward course of the national liberation movement, deprive the peoples of their sovereign right to decide their way of life freely, without interference, and prevent them from being masters of their own destiny.

What tasks has US imperialism assigned to the "green berets"?

The history of special-purpose forces takes its count from the years when the government in Washington turned the helm of its foreign policy towards the cold war. In 1948, the American press reported that Washington was thinking of forming special contingents of troops under American leadership. Two years later, in the National Security Council's Directive No. 68, these troops were given the definite assignment of sowing the seeds of destruction in the Soviet system. They were instructed to encourage and support disturbances and revolts in strategically located countries bordering on the Soviet Union.

The first units of "green berets" were formed in the USA in 1953 and at once got their baptism of fire in Korea and then in North Africa, Laos, Vietnam, and the sanguinary coup in the Dominican Republic.

A stylised Trojan horse on a green beret, symbol of a stab in the back, has become the emblem of these terrorist gangs. Incidentally, similar badges were worn in the eighteenth century by the Ranger units who massacred the indigenous Indian population of North America.

The Reagan administration has now again increased the demand for "programmed" killers. A classified document signed by the US Secretary of Defense and leaked to the press in early 1983 speaks of a need to revive, further vitalise, and reinforce special-purpose troops in order to demonstrate US strength where the use of regular troops is inopportune, inappropriate, or unfeasible. Special-purpose troops were to conduct operations in Eastern Europe and also in the northern and southern sectors of the NATO zone of operations.

How this is to be done is known from the classified documents of the command of the US armed forces in Europe that fell into the hands of Western journalists. These documents make it plain that already in peacetime the US command is preparing for hostilities, subversion, and sabotage in almost all countries of the European continent, including the NATO member-states. These actions are to be backed up by US special units. Particularly great attention is given to the conduct of war with unconventional means, the management of which comes under the command of auxiliary operations of a combat group in Europe.

Relevant instructions are enunciated in a supplement to classified Document D which designates the geographical regions of operations in a war with unconventional weapons. There are tens of such regions. Four of them are in neutral Austria. For operations by sabotage groups they have designed 20 operational areas in the Soviet Union, eight areas in Poland, and six areas each in the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia. Under this plan the "green berets" are to seize 101 regions on the territory of 23 European countries.

Henceforth all the US armed services are to have their own special-purpose units. The main training centre for the "green berets" is at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Their central assignment is to set up "fifth columns" and train for

sabotage and subversion in the enemy's rear. Groups have been formed specialising in the destruction of headquarters and communication lines. A special air brigade with its headquarters at the Eglin Air Force Base, Florida, has been assigned the mission of using unmarked aircraft to airlift equipment and secret agents.

The US Navy likewise has its special-purpose units. These consist chiefly of frogmen specialising in sabotage. *The New York Times* writes that they are trained to swim into harbours and ports, lay explosives, sink ships, paralyze the operations of ports, and destroy coastal installations.

In the early 1980s, according to foreign press reports, the "green berets" had a total strength of about 9,000. It is planned to double this number. The principles along which these units are formed are being amended as a result of the disclosure of some of the crimes committed by these "soldiers of fortune". The recruits, many of whom are foreigners, traitors, and renegades, are trained to fight the national liberation movement.

What caused Washington to heighten its attention to the Rapid Deployment Force?

The idea had long been mooted of forming a mobile strategic reserve with the mission mainly of suppressing national liberation, revolutionary movements, and removing governments whose policies are not favoured by the USA. An assault command assigned the role of a "fire brigade" to extinguish revolutionary "fires" and safeguard US "vital interests" in remote parts of the world was formed in the 1960s in the USA. This served as the prototype of the present Rapid Deployment Force. The idea was transformed into the concept of "strategic mobility", which became part of the USA's present military doctrine.

While in the 1960s the Pentagon was oriented on the forward-basing of armed forces and the advance formation of groups of such armed forces in countries where aggressive military operations were being planned, in the 1970s the US leadership came to the conclusion that the forward-basing of armed forces was not entirely in keeping with its aims. It is, after all, practically impossible to maintain permanently large contingents of troops in all "danger spots". For that reason, in the 1970s without entirely renouncing forward-basing, the US leadership shifted the ac-

cent to "strategic mobility". This presumes rapid transportation of large troop contingents and equipment to various, including remote, parts of the world.

In its analysis of the international situation, made on President Carter's insistence in 1977, the US National Security Council found that the number of crisis regions allegedly affecting US "vital interests" was growing. This generated the idea of forming a contingent of specially equipped troops capable of carrying out assignments in any part of the world. Carter signed Presidential Directive 18, which gave the green light to the formation of a Rapid Deployment Force.

The formal pretext for stepping up the formation of mobile interventionist forces was given by developments in the Middle East. In his annual report to Congress in January 1980, US Secretary of Defense Harold Brown declared it was vital to speed up the steps to increase the potential of the US Rapid Deployment Force on account of the instability of the situation in the Middle East, the Caribbean, and other regions. By March 1980 the headquarters of this force had been established at the MacDill Air Base, Florida. Its strength was set at 200,000 regular troops and 100,000 reservists, and it consisted of army, air and naval units, including a marine corps, and units of "green berets".

Provision was made for a subsequent increase of these forces. It is intended that by the end of the 1980s the command of the Rapid Deployment Force will have up to five divisions of land troops and two divisions of marines. The numerical strength of this force is to be roughly doubled.

The White House makes no secret of the fact that the purpose of the Rapid Deployment Force is basically to carry out political assignments—punitive invasions of foreign states that have modified their political or other stance in a manner found objectionable by the USA; support for reactionary and other pro-US regimes in the event they may be overthrown; the removal of progressive governments and the installation of reactionary, pro-US regimes. A striking illustration of this has been the US aggression against Grenada, a tiny sovereign Caribbean nation. The invading force consisted of units of the US 82nd Air-Borne Division and of "green berets".

The Reagan administration's policy of expansion has the support of the governments of Britain and France, which are building up their own rapid deployment forces. It has

been reported in the Western press that Britain is completing the formation of an air-borne contingent to be used in "emergencies" for the "defence" of British interests throughout the world.

Similar forces are being formed in France, too. A plan calling for five divisions totalling about 47,000 effectives was approved at the close of 1982. Although they are to be called a Rapid Action Force instead of a Rapid Deployment Force, this will not change its substance and designation. As a matter of fact, this has been borne out by their participation in the military operations in Chad and Lebanon.

Rapid deployment forces are an instrument of the aggressive policies of the imperialist states, an instrument of their international terrorism and piracy. The creation of these forces is one more link in US imperialism's preparations for an imperial "crusade" against socialism. Their formation is part and parcel of the USA's new military strategy for the 1980s, which the US leaders themselves describe as a strategy of "direct confrontation" with the USSR globally and on a regional scale.

Chapter 7

REALITIES OF OUR EPOCH

What has to be done to settle the most pressing problems in the relations between the USSR and the USA?

The Soviet leadership believes that there is a possibility for resolving some of the acute problems facing humankind. To this end the Soviet Union has in the past few years put forward a wide spectrum of concrete proposals.

First—this is felt deeply in the Soviet Union—the USA should undertake, as has been done by the USSR, a no-first nuclear strike commitment. This would be a major move in the direction of improving the international situation. It would assure the world community of nations that there would be neither second nor other nuclear strikes.

It would be important if the NATO countries were to accept the proposal—made several times by the Warsaw Treaty Organisation—that the two blocs should avoid using military force against each other in resolving outstanding international problems not only in Europe but also in the world as a whole.

Third, talks on preventing an arms race in outer space should be started without further delay. The development by the USA of means of warfare in and out of space negatively affects the international situation and erodes international stability and security.

Fourth, it is vital finally to stop delays at the Vienna talks on a reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, which have been going on for more than a decade. Progress at these talks would allow lowering the threshold of military and political confrontation where it is particularly high.

Lastly, there must be agreement on freezing nuclear stockpiles and on an activation of efforts to limit and reduce them along the principle of equal security of the negotiating sides. This would be a concrete practical step towards limiting the race for quality in nuclear armaments. This is

the only way that the international climate can be effectively improved.

In the NATO countries it is asserted that the USSR violates the treaties and agreements signed by it. What is the purpose of these fabrications?

Nothing save unsupported twaddle has come of the efforts of the USA and its allies to "catch" the Soviet Union violating treaty obligations. It has always been a principle of the USSR that there had to be strict compliance with signed multilateral and bilateral agreements.

"The Soviet Union," said the Foreign Minister of the USSR Andrei Gromyko, "approaches its commitments seriously, with a sense of responsibility. It carries them out honestly."

The purpose of the US government in its efforts to cast doubt on the USSR's conscientiousness is to cover up its own wrongdoing. Of course, the nation that has opted for an arms race does not stand in need of winning the trust of other nations and, naturally, does not need agreements limiting armaments. That is why, for example, Washington prevented SALT-2 from coming into operation, cut short the talks on limiting arms sales, and walked out of the talks on banning chemical weapons. For a number of years the USA evaded talks on limiting strategic and nuclear armaments in Europe.

To this record must be added the USA's unilateral suspension of the negotiations on a general and total ban on nuclear tests in the Indian Ocean and on anti-satellite systems. In fact, the USA has disorganised the entire process of limiting armaments.

As a Soviet Embassy memorandum to the US State Department noted, US policy was in conflict with the norms and principles of international law codified in Soviet-US documents, signed earlier, which declare that none of the signatories will seek military superiority and that in their relations with each other they will be guided by the principle of equality and equal security. US policy, the memorandum said, was at odds with the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, whose signatories (one of whom is the USA) solemnly pledged to conduct negotiations in a spirit of good will on effective measures to prevent a nuclear arms race.

By signing the Helsinki Final Act the USA had agreed

to join in the efforts to reduce the military confrontation in Europe and contribute to disarmament. In this area, too, the US government is evading honest compliance with its commitments.

What is the Soviet stand at the Stockholm Conference?

European politics has traversed a long road from Helsinki to Stockholm. All along this road the Soviet Union consistently sought to develop and broaden peaceful relations among the European nations.

The Soviet stand at the Stockholm Conference was clearly enunciated by Andrei Gromyko, who declared: "The Soviet Union has come to this conference with good intentions. Here we shall maintain a position of peace between states and between peoples, try to get the conference to make a substantial contribution to mending international relations, and help to end the mad arms race."

The USSR is prepared to join in a constructive examination of a wide spectrum of measures to reinforce confidence and security in Europe. It believes that such measures should include important agreements of a military and political nature. To confine such an examination to one area would mean paring down existing possibilities.

Confidence-building and disarmament measures must be combined with measures of a political nature and treaties aimed at reducing the threat of a nuclear war and reinforcing the guarantees of the security of nations. It would be of great significance if the nuclear powers were to pledge to refrain from using nuclear weapons against those European nations that neither possess nor have such weapons on their territory.

Andrei Gromyko stressed that for the nations attending the conference it would be of special importance if a treaty were signed on a mutual renunciation of the use of armed force and on the maintenance of relations of peace, as was suggested by the Warsaw Treaty member-states in January 1983.

Other Soviet peace initiatives were also reiterated at Stockholm. Further, the attention of the conference was drawn to the need to ban chemical weapons as soon as possible. This would signify Europe's release from one of the most barbarous means of mass annihilation.

The Soviet Union has backed up the efforts of other European nations to create nuclear-free zones in Europe and reiterated that it was prepared to start charting additional confidence-building measures in the military sphere, such as prior notification of large military exercises and a limitation on their scale. The interests of European security would most certainly be promoted by prior notification of major air and naval exercises taking place not only in Europe but also in adjoining regions.

"By and large," Andrei Gromyko stressed, "the Soviet Union is prepared to support all measures to reinforce confidence and security that would in fact effectively help reduce military confrontation."

What are the indications of the scale of the present anti-war movement and what are its hallmarks?

Humankind's growing anxiety about its future is the main reason for the unprecedentedly broad and diversified anti-war, anti-missile movement. It has spread to all countries in West and East and involves practically all strata of the population. There are grounds for saying that the anti-war movement has now acquired new qualitative aspects that make it markedly different from such movements in the past. In the view of Soviet analysts the following are the most important of these aspects:

- the evolution of the anti-war movement into a force which is quite strongly influencing the policies of the governments of all countries;

- this movement's unprecedented social, political, and ideological spectrum;

- the involvement in it of new groups of the population and new organisations and unions abiding by an anti-war platform;

- wide diversity of organisations, groups, and movements resorting to their own methods and forms of anti-war activities;

- a more active participation of leading scientists, professionals, physicians, personalities in culture and art, and employees of governmental and inter-governmental agencies;

- participation of forces such as Social Democrats, the clergy, and the military, including former high-ranking NATO officers.

The ongoing anti-war movement is not a movement of a minority acting under protest slogans. It has become a factor influencing the domestic life and foreign policy of many countries, a factor that has to be reckoned with by the ruling circles of the imperialist states.

There is every reason to believe that the anti-militarist, anti-nuclear movement is becoming a permanently operating factor of international life. International opinion has opted for a long and determined struggle. In this connection special significance is being acquired by how the people will act in the future, whether they will support or strongly oppose the "war party". It is also of enormous importance that young people, that section of society that will in fact decide the question of war and peace, are becoming an influential force.

This is seen by the ruling circles in the imperialist states. They are developing new ways of combating the anti-war movement, having recourse not only to more repressions against this movement's militants but also to quests for political and ideological compromises with them.

What new forms are being acquired by the international peace movement?

In order to have a better understanding of the anti-war movement's specifics, we should draw upon what Lenin wrote about the forms of struggle used in politics. He pointed out: "At different stages of economic evolution, depending on differences in political, national-cultural, living and other conditions, different forms of struggle come to the fore and become the principal forms of struggle; and in connection with this, the secondary, auxiliary forms of struggle undergo change in their turn."¹

What characterises the forms of the people's anti-war struggle today?

First, the wider spectrum of these forms in connection with the movement's political and ideological heterogeneity, the radicalisation of the movement itself, and the growing trend towards cooperation and coordinated action by the majority of the peace fighters.

Concerted initiatives by the various forces of the anti-war

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Guerrilla Warfare", *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972, p. 214.

movement on the scale of an individual country have led to the establishment of specific cooperation on the basis of a platform of concord and helped to politicise and draw new social strata into the movement. In some West European countries regional associations of peace fighters have appeared alongside traditional national organisations.

The global character of the nuclear threat has sharply boosted the tendency towards internationalising the anti-war movement.

Apart from having inherited many traditions of the popular actions against the dirty war in Vietnam, the anti-nuclear movement in the USA has acquired some features of its own. One of them is linking the struggle for peace with the struggle for socio-economic rights. Americans are coming round to getting a clearer understanding that acute socio-economic problems cannot be resolved without fighting the arms build-up, the swollen military budget.

This link became more obvious after the election of Ronald Reagan. Drastically cutting the expenditures on social needs, the Republican administration has simultaneously endorsed a multi-billion-dollar arms build-up programme. This has seriously aggravated the socio-economic situation in the USA, and has painfully hit the poorest sections of the population. That is why the actions against unemployment and the cutting back of spending on education are combined with demands for an end to the arms race and a smaller budget for the Pentagon.

The fight put up by the teaching staff and students of the University of California for the transfer of the funds allocated for military purposes to civilian production and to social needs has had wide repercussions across the USA. In June 1982, more than 1,200 young demonstrators were arrested by the police when they blockaded the Livermore laboratory, where the neutron bomb was developed.

It is of great significance that progressive organisations are now forming broad political coalitions in opposition to the reactionary policies that are undercutting the condition of various strata of the population, increasing the threat of war, and aggravating international tension.

Democratic public opinion's anxiety over the mounting aggressiveness of imperialism, of US imperialism in the first place, which has taken the world to the brink of nuclear disaster, and the striving to halt the slide into war and fight effectively for peace and security have evoked among

the people the realisation that their response should take the shape not of individual actions but of a wide-ranging campaign combining initiatives on the international, national, and regional levels.

The outlines of new tendencies have lately appeared in the forms and methods of the anti-war movement. We are witnessing some extension of the range of problems over which an anti-war struggle is waged; the anti-war actions are acquiring increasing vigour.

This tendency in the development of the forms of the anti-war protest is taken into account by the ruling circles of the NATO states, where preparations are under way for future social battles. Essentially speaking, an entirely new socio-political situation is taking shape in these countries.

Bourgeois propaganda is trying to give US imperialism the image of a peace-maker. What induces this camouflage?

There is a growing condemnation of US imperialism's aggressive, adventurist policies. Ever broader sections of international opinion are realising that since 1945 the USA has been the instigator of or a participant in most of the military conflicts, that it deliberately orchestrated hostilities in the Mediterranean, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The following is a short list of US imperialism's crimes over the past three decades:

1954—an armed invasion of Guatemala scripted and carried out by CIA mercenaries, who deposed the democratic government of Jacobo Arbenz and installed a military dictatorship.

1958—with the support of the US 6th Fleet, United States marines and army units (14,000 men) landed in Lebanon to suppress the patriotic forces of the Lebanese people.

1961—US mercenaries attempted an armed invasion of Cuba in the Bay of Pigs with the purpose of overthrowing the nation's revolutionary government. This aggression was undertaken by over 1,500 thugs trained and armed in the USA, 80 aircraft, and 35 naval units.

1964—10,000 troops and 60 aircraft of the USA, Britain, and Belgium were sent to the Congo with the objective of overthrowing the progressive government and suppressing the national liberation movement.

1964—US troops dealt summarily with the civilian population of the Panama Canal Zone; the people were demanding the dismantling of US military bases on Panamanian territory and the restoration of Panama's sovereignty.

1964-1973—the US aggression in Vietnam. A war of attrition was fought with chemical weapons, napalm, and other barbarous types of armaments. Enormous damage was inflicted on the country, on its population, economy, natural environment, and agriculture. The effects of this aggression are felt to this day.

1964-1973—the US aggression against Laos with the objective of supporting the reactionary government against the Progressive Pathet-Lao Front. The USA used over 50,000 troops, 1,500 aircraft, and 40 naval units.

1965—the armed invasion of the Dominican Republic. On the pretext of "protecting US citizens", the Dominican Republic was invaded by an army of 40,000 troops supported by 275 aircraft and 50 naval units.

1970-1975—the US aggression against Cambodia with the participation of over 70,000 troops, 500 aircraft, and 40 units of the US 7th Fleet.

1971, 1973—with the direct participation of the CIA counter-revolutionary coups were orchestrated in Bolivia, Chile, and El Salvador, where democratic governments were deposed and fascist regimes placed in power.

1982—US marines landed in Lebanon on the pretext of "establishing peace in the Middle East". Over 30 US naval units were lined up along the Lebanese coast. National patriotic forces and the civilian population of Lebanon were shelled by US naval units and bombed from the air.

1983—the unprovoked armed invasion of Grenada, where the democratic government was overthrown and a US puppet regime set up.

This is only part of the record. The USA is continuing its preparations for the invasion of Nicaragua, fighting an undeclared war against the patriotic forces in El Salvador, and planning new provocations against Cuba. Blackmail and threats are used also against other countries of the region that have governments which do not enjoy the favour of the USA. US imperialism's aggressive aspirations are mounting in Africa and especially in the Middle East. It is enlarging its network of military bases and bridgeheads for its interventionist Rapid Deployment Force.

An official US study undertaken to vindicate long-term

military planning forecasts that only in the period from 1991 to 1995 there may be 385 wars and armed conflicts and that the USA may be involved in 145 of them. In keeping with this forecast the Pentagon is planning to extend the network of its military installations in foreign countries. The USA already has over 1,500 military bases and other military installations in 32 countries. These are permanently manned by half a million US servicemen with a huge quantity of armaments, including nuclear weapons.

Although the USA already has a ramified network of military bases, it continues to build more. US Armed Forces are already using bases and airfields in Saudi Arabia and Egypt and have unlimited access to military bases in Israel. The government in Washington has signed agreements with Oman, Somalia, and Kenya on the use and modernisation of their military bases by United States troops and on the building of new bases (the USA plans to spend nearly \$1,500 million on building military installations in this area in the 1983-1987 period). Americans are making wide use of Pakistani territory for subversion against Afghanistan, India, and other countries.

The danger is growing to sovereign nations and the national liberation movements from the US military bases and groups of naval units stationed off foreign shores that are used as springboards of aggression and international terrorism. The principal cause of this danger is that the US troops manning bases in foreign countries have nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

What is the situation at the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe?

These negotiations have yet to produce tangible results. They commenced as far back as October 30, 1973. Nineteen nations are involved: the USSR, Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania—representing the socialist countries; the USA, Britain, the FRG, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Canada, Italy, Denmark, Norway, Greece, and Turkey—representing the Western states.

At the preparatory consultations (January-June 1973) it was agreed that there would be 11 direct participants, i.e., countries whose troops and armaments would be reduced:

four socialist countries (the USSR, Poland, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia) and seven Western countries (the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain, Canada, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg). Further, it was agreed that all services of the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in Central Europe, with the exception of naval forces, would be subject to reduction. As the principal contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe it was determined that there would be a reciprocal diminution of the military capability of the two groups in the reduction area (consisting of the territories of the FRG, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Poland, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia).

The guideline adopted by representatives of the socialist countries was that for many years there has been an approximate balance of strength between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty in the heartland of Europe. Hence, an equal reduction (in terms of percentage) of armed forces and armaments by each of the direct participants would be a fair decision ensuring the preservation of the military equilibrium. To be effective the reduction must involve all the agreed services of the armed forces, including air forces and units armed with nuclear weapons. This can be achieved by cutting back entire formations—units together with their hardware.

As the power playing the dominant role in NATO, the USA in essence dictated the stand of the West at the negotiations. True, for tactical considerations it sometimes moved to the background, giving the forefront to the FRG.

The US government wants people to believe that the purpose of the talks must be to "redress" the "superiority" of the Warsaw Treaty states in the strength of land forces and basic types of armaments, allegedly existing in the zone of reductions. This was the pretext for demanding "asymmetrical" reductions of armed forces and armaments, with bigger reductions for the socialist countries than for the Western countries. This "asymmetry" argument underlies the stand of the NATO member-countries participating in the talks.

Western propaganda asserts that the Warsaw Treaty countries have a numerical "superiority" of 150,000 land troops. On the basis of this assertion the USA and its allies launched upon a debate in Vienna over the numerical

strength of not their own armed forces but of those of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.¹

The innumerable "rounds" of talks have shown that the USA and its allies regard the Vienna negotiations mainly a venue for discussions designed to provide a screen for NATO's attempts to change in its favour the balance of strength in the centre of Europe. The reluctance of the USA and its NATO allies to reach a fair agreement that would not prejudice the security of the socialist countries is the main reason that the Vienna talks continue to be fruitless.

The active, consistent line pursued by the Soviet Union and its allies and the many constructive proposals made by them compelled the Western countries to amend their stand from time to time. However, their moves were limited and did not change the Western position and, consequently, did not open up any possibility for agreement.

On July 8, 1978 the socialist countries submitted a comprehensive proposal providing, in particular, for:

- the establishment, as a result of reductions, of equal collective ceilings—a total numerical strength of 900,000 effectives, including 700,000 land troops on each side;

- a selective reduction of armaments at the first stage; 1,000 tanks and a proportion of other military hardware by the USSR; for the USA—those types of nuclear systems that the West had earlier agreed to reduce, namely, 1,000 nuclear warheads, 36 Pershing launching installations, and 54 F-4 carrier-aircraft;

- at the first stage the reduction of land troops should be in proportion to the total numerical strength of the Soviet and US land troops in Central Europe.

The Western states did not reply to these proposals. They gave prominence to their demand that there should be an understanding on the numerical strength of the armed forces available to the sides, as we have already noted. They adopted the same stand relative to the initiative taken by the socialist countries in the summer of 1980.

With the consent of the GDR and other Warsaw Treaty member-countries, the Soviet Union decided to reduce uni-

¹ According to the statistics submitted on July 1, 1976 by the Western participants in the Vienna negotiations, the total numerical strength of the NATO countries (including France) was 981,000 of whom 791,000 were land troops. According to the statistics presented on July 10, 1978 by the socialist participants in these talks, the numerical strength of the Warsaw Treaty armed forces in the zone of reductions totalled 987,000, of which 805,000 were land troops.

laterally the number of Soviet troops in Central Europe. In the course of 12 months some 20,000 Soviet troops, 1,000 tanks, and a quantity of other military equipment were withdrawn from GDR territory.

Lastly, on February 17, 1983 the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries advanced proposals aimed at breaking the almost decade-long deadlock at the negotiations on a mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. These proposals of the GDR, Poland, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia (the socialist countries at the Vienna talks) envisage:

- the possibility of agreeing on a reduction of the armed forces and armaments of the military-political groupings in confrontation—NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation— in the centre of the European continent to equal collective levels of 900,000 effectives on each side, regardless of the divergences in the data on the numerical strength of the forces of the sides at present;

- a reduction by the Soviet Union and the USA of their armed forces respectively by 20,000 and 13,000 effectives together with their weaponry as a mutual example outside the treaty framework;

- a mutual political commitment by all the direct participants to freeze the level of their armed forces and armaments in Central Europe until final agreement is reached on larger reductions, an agreement that could be worked out, for example, in the course of a year.

The urgency of these proposals grew especially after the NATO states adopted plans to speed up the modernisation of conventional weapons and after the drawing up in the USA and now in the various NATO headquarters of the Rogers Plan for a war in Europe with mainly conventional weapons.

The approach proposed by the socialist countries takes into account the overall mutual understanding achieved at the talks in Vienna. For instance, it takes into account the understanding to reduce, as a result of the lowering of the confrontation in Central Europe, the level of the armed forces of both sides to equal collective levels and also the understanding that the reduction could be started with a cutback of Soviet and American troops. An important advantage of the new approach was that it allowed taking the debate over figures, imposed by the Western participants, out of its impasse. The offer to establish equal collective ceilings of

900,000 effectives on each side, including not more than 700,000 land troops, made the argument over numbers pointless. To fix that ceiling each side had to determine for itself the reduction of its forces from their present levels.

A mutual cutback of the armed forces and armaments of the direct participants in the Vienna negotiations, started with the withdrawal of Soviet and US contingents, would signify a tangible lowering of the dangerous military confrontation between the two most powerful military-political alliances in the most sensitive region of the European continent. It would spell out the first visible result and would help to reinforce mutual confidence and provide valuable experience for subsequent, bigger mutual reductions of the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

The Soviet Union reaffirmed its fundamental support for the Vienna negotiations at the first stage of the conference in Stockholm.

What is the purpose of Pentagon's military space programmes?

The need for averting the militarisation of outer space has become the central need on which the survival of civilisation depends today. In effect, the question of whether or not mankind succeeds in halting the drift to the abyss is now listed at the top of the day's business.

The outcome depends on how realistically the United States, the initiator of the militarist space preparations, views the situation. We are sorry to say, however, that Washington has made no secret of its intentions even after the Soviet-American negotiations on space and nuclear arms began in Geneva. On the contrary, it is going out of its way to speed up the development of space arms and to start testing them.

Washington is working on its military space programmes as part of its general effort of laying the material basis for a nuclear war against the USSR. That is the only possible explanation for the intentions and actions of the people running the United States focused on using space for military purposes.

Having failed to gain military strategic superiority in the 1970s through a qualitative modernisation of its strategic arsenal, Washington arrived at the conclusion that to

deal with the matter it must have fundamentally new space arms. Washington's efforts to deploy a new family of weapons should be viewed in the light of the fact that it is simultaneously working on new strategic weapons in addition to those that already exist to strike at strategic targets in Soviet territory. In other words, it is chasing for a nuclear first strike potential.

This alone is the motivation for the concept of military superiority over the Soviet Union proclaimed in the USA. The purpose of Washington's military preparations in outer space is to ensure itself impunity, to restore the function of nuclear arms as the chief instrument of the aggressive imperialist foreign policy, of blackmail and nuclear *diktat*.

This is easily deduced from Washington's mode of operation. It is following two tracks in its use of space for military purposes: development of anti-satellite weapons and deployment of what it calls a "nation-wide" anti-missile defence system with space-based elements.

The Soviet Union knows about these US actions. It is fully aware of the true nature of the US military preparations in outer space. "From the military point of view," USSR Defence Minister Sergei Sokolov said recently, "the US Star Wars plan is an indissoluble component of the US nuclear strategy, a first-strike strategy. The true meaning of the plan is to win the capability of a retaliation-free nuclear attack, to obtain conditions for constant nuclear blackmail of the Soviet Union and other countries."

By placing an anti-missile shield over the USA and simultaneously deploying first-strike strategic arms and new space-based strategic forces designed to destroy objects on earth, in the sea, atmosphere and space, Washington is trying to secure a "position from strength" in relation to the Soviet Union. And it is easy to see that if this plan succeeds US strategists may be tempted to risk the use of nuclear and space-based arms to hit the Soviet Union and its allies from behind their anti-missile space shield, counting on impunity. "As the Pentagon sees it," the Soviet Defence Minister pointed out, "the anti-missile shield is to frustrate a retaliatory Soviet strike and 'finish off' the Soviet missiles that survived the first nuclear strike of the USA as they leave their launchers."

Those are the real, not the speciously professed, aims behind Pentagon's military space programmes.

Why is the Pentagon attracted to anti-satellite weapons?

The importance of space objects for economic life and the security of nations cannot be rated too highly. They provide for communications, navigation, national means of control and management, and also of controlling the activity of the other side, and, last but not least, for early warning of the adversary's nuclear attack. Space systems are, in a way, the eyes and ears that enable the states to see to their security. Putting them out of commission may rightly be considered an act leading to a big war and putting the other side in an unfavourable position in relation to the attacker.

That is exactly what the men in Washington today are after as they work on various types of anti-satellite weapons. Two programmes are at the centre of attention: the one that envisages the development of interceptor missiles based on F-15 fighter aircraft, and the other, the development of Shuttle spacecraft possibilities in combatting satellites.

The US programme envisaging miniature anti-satellite missiles launched from F-15 fighters is in an advanced stage. The missiles in question can destroy space objects at a distance of 2,000 km. Considering the flight radius of F-15 fighters, which are to be stationed at the many US bases all over the world, it might be possible to destroy a satellite in low orbit over practically any point of the Earth's surface.

The first test of this system was held by Pentagon in January 1984, and more than ten such tests are planned until 1987 directly against objects in outer space. US military and political quarters intend to deploy some 50 F-15 interceptors armed with 100 missiles.

The other anti-satellite programme envisages use of Shuttle spacecraft. It is planned to greatly enhance their capability by arming them with laser beam and similar weapons.

Neither programme has anything in common with defence. Both of them create an immediate threat to the security of a large number of states. That is why Washington prefers to keep mum about the purpose-oriented nature of its space activities—their aggressiveness is much too obvious.

Why are questions concerning the limitation of the nuclear arms race considered as a complex and in interrelationship with questions concerning the prevention of arms race in outer space?

Now, when it has become obvious that the US administration intends to carry on with its Star Wars programme in all circumstances, it is the whole process of limiting and reducing nuclear arsenals that hangs in the balance, and not only agreements on preventing the militarisation of outer space.

This is due to the fact that the arms race in space being launched by the United States is inevitably and strongly impelling qualitative improvements of the entire military potential—nuclear as well as conventional arms, strategic and tactical. It is no longer possible to conceive the development of any type of weapon without modernising the components of its "anti-space defences". And conversely, the crash-rate of US imperialist-sponsored military activity in space is triggering a colossal escalation of the arms race in all fields of military activity. This interconnection and interrelationship has become more than apparent these days for all those who reckon with the realities.

That is why Washington's bid to militarise space is fraught with consequences that are crucial and exceedingly dangerous for peace: they are, in effect, torpedoing the entire process of limiting and reducing armaments, stripping the process of any effective content. The Star Wars programme declared by Washington was obviously designed to rule out limitation and reduction of nuclear arms, and, indeed, to impart an entirely new dimension to the arms race as a whole, to undermine the very idea of stability, equality, and equal security.

The ever closer interrelationship between the race of space and other arms won international recognition when the USSR and the USA agreed on the subject of the Geneva negotiations, which were to concern a complex of questions related to space and nuclear arms, both strategic and intermediate-range, in their interrelationship. This was recorded in so many words in the Soviet-American Statement made in Geneva on January 8, 1985 on the objectives and subject of the negotiations.

All the stranger was the posture struck by the USA when the talks began. It seemed to have forgotten what had been

agreed upon. In substance, its approach boiled down to attempts at saddling the Soviet Union with what could be described as rules of conducting an arms race in outer space—what space strike weapons were to be deployed, in what numbers, and within what limits of time. All too obviously, this is a deliberate distortion of the agreement reached, it is an attempt to circumvent it.

Washington is hellbent on dragging through its space militarisation programmes at any cost, on legalising them by any possible means. And in doing so it pretends not to realise that the deployment of space strike weapons would tilt the strategic balance in favour of the USA, and would generate an immediate reaction on the part of the USSR, thus resulting in a steep build-up and qualitative improvement of offensive nuclear weapons in all fields. This attempt at outstripping the Soviet Union would have an inevitable effect on all the components of the armed forces of the USSR and the USA.

The United States cannot expect the Soviet Union to consent to any reductions of its retaliatory-strike nuclear weapons while Washington carries on with its programme of measures aimed at "invalidating" Soviet nuclear arms in the hope of acquiring the long-awaited capability of delivering a first strike. In these circumstances, the demand that the USSR reduce its nuclear potential is nothing but an attempt at easing the US strategists' drive to attain this insane objective. In Washington and other NATO capitals they are certainly aware that these hopes have no real grounds, that their calls for limiting and reducing nuclear arms are nothing but crude demagoguery in the setting of the feverish military preparations in outer space.

In practice, Washington has no intention at all of curbing the nuclear arms race. On the contrary, as we have already said, the USA has laid its plans for the nuclear arms race at least for several dozen years in advance, and has steeply increased its scale and rate.

In sum, the US reluctance to give up its programmes for the development of space strike weapons is, in effect, undermining the very idea of nuclear arms limitation and reduction. This unconstructive approach surfaced all too clearly in Washington's response to the Soviet proposal for setting a moratorium on space strike weapons and nuclear arms (strategic and Europe-based intermediate-range missiles) for the entire duration of the Geneva negotiations, which

was rightly received by the world public as an absolutely natural and sensible step.

In contrast to the United States, the Soviet Union stands for the immediate limitation and radical reduction of nuclear arms, but, of course, given a total ban on space strike weapons and a simultaneous and complete mutual renunciation by the sides of any programmes envisaging the development and deployment of all types of nuclear weapons—long-range cruise missiles, new ICBMs, new classes of SLBMs, and heavy bombers.

As concerns the key issue at the Geneva talks, i.e. space strike arms, the Soviet Union has come out in favour of an agreement outlawing the development (including R&D), testing and deployment of space strike weapons. The already existing anti-satellite weapons of the USA and the USSR whose testing has not yet been completed, would be subject to destruction.

In this way the questions of outlawing space arms and of limiting and reducing nuclear arms would be resolved as a complex in their interrelationship, as required by the security interests of the sides.

Are Washington's plans of a "nation-wide" anti-missile defence system aimed at scrapping the ABM Treaty concluded between the USSR and the USA in 1972?

As it launches its programmes for developing what it terms a "nation-wide" ABM system, Washington says arbitrarily that they conform with the terms of the ABM Treaty of 1972, though that instrument says most categorically that neither side may have an ABM system for a defence of the territory of its country or deploy any ABM systems or components that are space-based. Attention is being diverted from this obvious breach with pleas that the Treaty does not forbid "scientific research" aimed at developing space strike weapons.

Still, compliance with the ABM Treaty is incompatible with work directed to producing arms prohibited by that Treaty. Besides, the research referred to amounts to something much bigger. At the same time, Washington is falsely accusing the Soviet Union of having violated the 1972 Treaty. It is doing so in order to cast doubt on the Treaty and have it revised.

The Soviet Union, as has been repeatedly stated at sum-

mit level, has never conducted, nor does it now conduct, any scientific research, experimental work or designing that would transcend the restrictions set by the ABM Treaty. The Soviet Union is not developing any space strike weapons. All claims to the contrary are at variance with the facts and are made with the sole and obvious purpose of misleading the world public and justifying the US line of undermining the Treaty.

Intent on scrapping the ABM Treaty, Washington aims at tearing down the very foundation of the arms limitation and reduction process, and is deliberately prodding humankind toward another exhausting spiral of the arms race. By refusing to halt its space strike arms programmes, Washington is placing in question the very idea of limiting, let alone reducing, nuclear arsenals.

Voices have been heard in the United States of late saying that the Star Wars plan is compatible with the ABM Treaty. What arguments are cited in favour of this posture by US officials?

It is important to note that Washington's bid for space strike weapons is incompatible with the principles implicit in the ABM Treaty. In fact, Washington is doing its worst to undermine the Treaty. At the same time, Washington is manoeuvring and looking for loopholes in the wording of the Treaty in order to vindicate its actions in the eyes of the world public disturbed by this new twist in the arms race. This is being done in the following directions.

First, Washington claims that the work in the USA on what it calls a "nation-wide" anti-missile defence system is nothing but harmless technological research which allegedly does not go counter to the ABM Treaty.

In fact, however, this is untrue. Article V of the Treaty prohibits the parties to develop or test ABM systems or components which are space-based, that is, the very object of the "harmless research" in the USA where models of space strike weapons are being produced in full gear, with some of them already being tested. Lasers of different kinds, electromagnetic guns, interceptor missiles and, last but not least, anti-satellite systems are being given finishing touches in laboratories and on proving grounds.

Second, spokesmen of the US administration are trying to say that the provisions of the ABM Treaty, restricting the

development of anti-missile arms, apply only to such ABM systems and components thereof that existed at the time of its signing. Since the weapons that are being developed and tested under the head of the "Strategic Defence Initiative" (SDI) are not listed in Article II of the Treaty, these officials claim, they cannot be referred to as "ABM components".

In fact, however, the provisions of the ABM Treaty apply to any systems and components designed to strike strategic ballistic missiles or their elements when in flight. Since the systems that are being developed within the SDI framework are designed for that very purpose, that is, are meant to replace the systems mentioned in the Treaty, the provisions of that instrument apply to them in full measure. This is true first of all of developing, testing and deploying ABM systems or components which are space-based.

Third, the makers of the US Star Wars programme portray the development of space-based ABM components working on new physical principles as an action permitted under the ABM Treaty.

By saying so Washington is distorting the facts. It is true that the restrictions do not rule out the appearance on either side of such anti-missile weapons, but exclusively subject to the provisions of the Treaty, that is, within the limits of the one permitted area. The United States, however, is planning to deploy a "nation-wide" anti-missile defence system with space-based elements that is in no way confined to one area. What it is planning is a territorial (on the scale of the whole country) or even global ABM system which is totally prohibited by the Treaty. The development of laser, particle beam and other components is, therefore, an obvious breach of the ABM Treaty.

Fourth, US ruling elements are trying to exploit the fact that the Treaty provides for possible amendments to its text. That is why they are trying to legalise their actions that are contrary to the Treaty by having it revised.

This underhanded ploy is meant to pacify public opinion at a time when the Administration is doing everything it can not to merely amend but, in fact, to destroy the Treaty. Those in the USA are aware that what they term "amendments" are aimed not at preserving the effectiveness of the Treaty but at adapting it to the American military space programme, that is, at emasculating its main principle: the ban on deploying an ABM system.

Naturally, the Soviet Union cannot agree to this. It refuses to be Washington's accomplice in turning the ABM Treaty into a screen for the US policy of starting an arms race in space-based anti-missile systems.

Fifth, the USA alleges that the Soviet Union has done things contrary to the ABM Treaty. And since this is so, Washington adds, the Soviet Union must reconcile itself to what is being done to that effect in America.

The Soviet Union has made it quite clear that the US "accusations" are trumped up, malicious, and contrary to the facts. The ABM Treaty has been in force for more than ten years. During this period it has been examined twice—in 1977 and in 1982—and the sides agreed that it continued to accord with their interests and did not call for any amendments or changes. In the joint communique on the results of the examination the sides noted that the Treaty was working effectively. It is more than strange, therefore, to see the specious campaign currently launched by Washington about alleged Soviet violations.

The USSR is for strict and unremitting observance of the Treaty and considers any acts leading to its erosion, let alone questioning its further existence, as is done in the United States, impermissible.

What are the tangible consequences of the arms race that Washington is about to start in outer space?

Star Wars preparations will entail a number of serious consequences.

First, the arms race in all fields will rise to a new level of intensity. As Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CC CPSU, said on this score in his talk with the *Pravda* editor, "the development of space arms is bound to make the arms race still more intensive and will see it spread to new spheres". War preparations are no longer confined to what have become traditional fields of military rivalry; an impulse is being given to the emergence of fundamentally new fields of military rivalry.

Second, the development of anti-satellite and ABM systems is bound to create a most dangerous illusion of invulnerability. This will be nothing but an illusion because there can be no question of any real security. And that is tied in with a destabilisation of the military-strategic situation

and tends to increase the risk of a nuclear conflict breaking out.

Third, deployment of space-based arms is liable to strengthen the accent on nuclear blackmail in Washington's policy and on use of armed force as an instrument of foreign policy influence. All that leads inevitably to greater international tension, and to declining confidence in interstate relations.

Fourth, the limitation and reduction of armaments is imperilled; the basis of future agreements is undermined. The policy of militarising outer space is bound to wreck already concluded agreements and accords, and torpedo the negotiations that are underway in Geneva.

Fifth, an arms race in space will give added impulse to the arms race on earth and is liable to spur military R&D projects that may, in turn, result in higher military expenditures and increase the economic burden created by the arms race.

Lastly, the militarisation of space means that the US war machine is being readied for a first strike against the Soviet Union, so that further elaboration of the concepts of "limited" and "counter-force" nuclear wars against the Soviet Union and other countries is bound to occur.

All this, cumulatively, leads to the conclusion that the US ruling elements have set the course on a long-lasting military-political confrontation with the USSR, and have programmed an arms race for many decades to come.

Washington has failed to draw the due conclusion from the failure of its past policy of gaining "technological" superiority in the arms race. The Soviet Union and its allies have all that is necessary to prevent the USA from gaining military superiority—the material resources and the manpower, experienced and knowledgeable engineers and, last but not least, the political determination. As Yevgeny Velikhov, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and an eminent Soviet space technology expert, said recently: "To think that the Soviet Union is incapable of developing its own counter-system in reply to any new type of space weapon is simply ludicrous."

CONCLUSION

Humankind is today at a turning point of its history: either inevitable destruction as a result of the arms race started by imperialism or a radical turn towards improving the international situation.

Needless to say, the quarters that are steering towards war are not interested in limiting and contracting the arms race. That is exactly why the US ruling circles are refusing to negotiate with the USSR on the basis of equality and equal security and disrupting agreements and understandings that have already been signed.

By contrast, Soviet policy is aimed at preventing a nuclear catastrophe, at removing the threat of nuclear war. This is a credible approach. Underlying it is the firm belief that war is not inevitable. Today and in the foreseeable future the question of preserving peace is the pivot of the USSR's foreign policy.

The Soviet concept of disarmament is free of illusions and speculations. Being profoundly scientific, it correctly mirrors the actual needs of world development and indicates realistic, feasible steps to meet these needs. It regards disarmament as a long-term phased process, requiring the greatest effort and the activation of all the factors of peace with the aim of breaking the resistance of the militarist circles. On the politico-diplomatic level progress in limiting armaments presupposes combining firm opposition to imperialism's aggressive actions with persevering, tireless quests for mutually-acceptable solutions at the negotiating table. Lastly, the Soviet concept attaches major significance to action by the peace movement. Its point of departure is that when the idea of disarmament is appreciated and accepted by the masses it can become a major material force in world politics.

Ever since the Soviet state came into existence its foreign policy has pursued the goal of general and complete disarmament.

Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, attached exception-

al significance to the problem of disarmament. He stressed time and again that disarmament is the ideal of socialism, that it is the natural slogan of socialist society. However, he did not see disarmament as an isolated aim in itself: he said that disarmament acquires real significance and expediency in the context of a strategy of peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-economic systems, a strategy that rejects war as a means of setting international disputes.

By removing or narrowing down the material and technical basis for unleashing and fighting wars, disarmament is, Lenin felt, an effective guarantee of peace and a dependable means of uprooting militarism and delivering mankind from the burden of armaments. This is the main direction for joint efforts by all countries in giving shape to a system for maintaining universal, lasting, and just peace. Progress along the road of limiting and ending the arms race helps to create favourable international conditions for building communism in the USSR, meets with the vital interests of all the revolutionary forces in the world, and substantially widens the possibilities for cooperation between countries with different social systems.

For the USSR, the struggle for general and complete disarmament is a fundamental course enshrined in the country's Constitution. Article 28 states:

"The USSR steadfastly pursues a Leninist policy of peace and stands for strengthening of the security of nations and broad international cooperation.

"The foreign policy of the USSR is aimed at ensuring international conditions favourable for building communism in the USSR, safeguarding the state interests of the Soviet Union, consolidating the positions of world socialism, supporting the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress, preventing wars of aggression, achieving universal and complete disarmament, and consistently implementing the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

"In the USSR war propaganda is banned."

The Soviet concept of disarmament contains a number of principles, the most important of which are:

- *equality and equal security* for all sides participating in the process of limiting and reducing armaments;
- *consistency of this process*, of which each new stage is the logical continuation of the previous stage;

- *clarity and concreteness* of the object of limitation;
- *untiring effort* to move this process forward;
- *all-embracing character* of the limitation and reduction of armaments and of military activity.

The situation is different in the West, where far from being moved forward and supported, the idea of general disarmament is being discredited. Prominent Western political and military leaders and academics unequivocally oppose disarmament. They advance various philosophical, political, and military arguments, but all boil down to an attempt to somehow justify the existence of armaments, to attribute the need for armaments to "objective" reasons that do not depend upon the will of Western political leaders. The most frequent argument is that rather than the existence of weapons leading to confrontation and war, the existence of political differences gives rise to an "objective" need for stockpiling weapons, that even if there were partial disarmament, if the most dangerous types of armaments were removed and there were only knives, people would still fight.

It is declared that the chief condition for general and complete disarmament is the extirpation of *all* political differences and the establishment of an international climate free of suspicion in the relations between countries. This seemingly good intention means nothing less than that in fact they simply want to bury the idea of general disarmament in senseless political debates, reservations, conditions, and so on. It is quite obvious that as long as there are countries with different ideological and socio-political systems there will be differences between them.

In contrast to this, the Soviet Union and all people of good will want the idea of general and complete disarmament to become as soon as possible, for the West, the subject of real negotiations and not of empty prattle. Greatly disturbed by the increased threat of a nuclear war they are making this the basic demand and slogan of the day.

As the experience of many years has shown, a decisive turn towards disarmament and the signing of concrete agreements on limiting the arms race will not come of themselves. This needs massive and combined efforts by all who are aware of the danger implicit in the continued arms race. It is imperative to neutralise the forces who are, for the sake of their selfish economic or political interests, pushing the world into a nuclear catastrophe.

The main thing today is to move from disarmament negotiations to concrete steps signifying the beginning of disarmament. This and nothing else will in fact meet the aspiration of the peoples who want lasting peace, emphatically denounce actions designed to increase the threat of another world war, and condemn the arms race.

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- What is the USSR doing to counter the US course towards the build-up of armaments?

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